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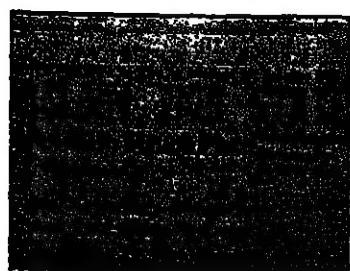
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Pullback jockeying continues

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu (left) and US special envoy Dennis Ross smile at the press yesterday before their meeting in Jerusalem. Story, Page 2.

Neeman: Accord soon on ending US civilian aid

By DAVID HARRIS

An agreement on phasing out US civilian aid to Israel over the next decade while expanding the military portion of the program should be concluded between Jerusalem and Washington within the next 12 days, Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman said yesterday, after talks with US Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs Martin Indyk.

"I'm confident that we'll reach an understanding," said Neeman. "Negotiations will be concluded no later than next week."

Israel is aiming to gradually end its dependence on civilian aid over the next decade, while defense sources say the country is looking for an annual \$600 million increase in military aid.

Presently, Israel receives \$1.2



Martin Indyk



Yaakov Neeman

billion annually in civilian aid and \$1.8b. on the military side.

American Jewish leaders participating in an Israel Bonds conference in Jerusalem yesterday suggested that Israel is attempting to alter a key condition linked

to the receipt of the defense spending package. At the moment, the US stipulates that aid has to be spent on purchasing defense equipment in the US, but Jerusalem is seeking to use at least a portion of the money on

procurement in Israel.

It was reported from the US last week that Indyk would use this week's aid negotiations as a lever against Israel's stance on the peace process. Last night, however, Neeman said the negotiations are very positive and he and Indyk would resume their meeting today following discussions between officials overnight.

Speaking to the bonds meeting, the minister pointed out that Israel is the only country to have unilaterally offered to reduce its dependence on the US. From the American perspective, reducing the annual handout to Israel will allow for greater spending on Middle East programs, such as the proposed regional bank.

In January, Neeman began negotiations with the US aimed at reducing the aid, of which Israel is currently the largest recipient.

The real jubilee present

The government has been touting its much-heralded currency liberalization plan as a jubilee present for the public.

But the quietly coalescing plan to do away with American civilian aid will ultimately translate into a true sign of maturity for a once-fledgling economy that has come of age.

While the plan which the Treasury and the US State Department are hammering out is by no means drastic - civilian aid will shrink slowly over a decade and military aid will remain intact, and even grow - it nevertheless is a move which only a decade ago would have been

unthinkable.

Back in the days when Israeli gross domestic product languished in the single-digit billions of dollars, inflation danced at triple-digit levels and the current-account deficit loomed ominously at more than a fifth of GDP - foreign aid was vital to keep the economy afloat.

Now, with GDP at \$100b., annual inflation at 5%, and the budget, trade, and current-account deficits sharply trimmed, an annual \$1.2b. in civilian aid is no longer indispensable.

BACKGROUND

By AMOTZ ASH-EL

As historical coincidences go, this economic coming of age happens to coincide with the great geopolitical tectonic movements which are rapidly transforming Washington's foreign policy priorities.

Clearly, in the post-Cold War era it has become imperative for Israel to shed its already dubious status as the world's No. 1 nominal - not to mention per-capita - foreign-aid recipient.

Had it not been in an economic position to give up American aid, Jerusalem might have been com-

elled to scramble for alternative sources of income to compensate for Uncle Sam's inevitable downsizing of a dated aid program.

Moreover, in the age of economic globalism, governments are extending less and less aid funds while investor-philanthropists like George Soros increasingly take their place as developers of destitute regions across the globe.

Fortunately, when Soros eyes Israel he does so wearing his investor's hat rather than as a donor. Evidently, Israel is no longer a *schnorrer*; formalizing this status was only a matter of time.

Barak reverses decision not to field TA mayoral candidate

Labor chairman said favoring MK Ben-Ami

By SARAH HONIG

In a reversal of a previous decision, the Labor Party decided late last night to field its own candidate to run against incumbent Tel Aviv Mayor Ronni Milo.

There was no word from Labor as to who this candidate might be, but sources close to party chairman Ehud Barak indicate that the man he prefers is MK Shlomo Ben-Ami.

The complication is that Ben-Ami is not a Tel Aviv resident, and would have to move to the city in a great hurry in order to qualify as a candidate.

The trigger for the disintegration of the unprecedented alliance between a major Likud-affiliated

incumbent and the Labor Party came when Milo announced unilaterally yesterday his decision to include Cmdr. (ret) Gabi Last, a former Tel Aviv police commissioner, "in a prominent slot on my municipal list."

Milo, though formally still a Likud member, will head an independent list called Lev, in which Labor was to have been a partner.

The decision not to compete against Milo and to join his Lev list was extremely controversial in the first place within Labor and generated much criticism.

Gymnasia Herzliya High School principal Ron Huldai announced he would run independently when Labor refused to endorse him.

Barak explained at the time that

five separate polls all showed that no Labor candidate stands a chance against Milo. Barak was then accused of yielding without a fight.

The news of Milo's announcement yesterday afternoon spread like wildfire at an otherwise monotonous session of the Labor political bureau, which was meeting at the same time. The version which gained currency was that Last would be featured in the second slot.

Only an hour and a half prior to Milo's statement, he met with Barak and with another retired police commander, former Jerusalem police commissioner Aryeh Amit.

See BARAK, Page 2

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

Bereaved families and the Am Hofshi association yesterday protested the decision to send Deputy Housing Minister Meir Porush, of the hardi United Torah Judaism Party, to represent the government on Remembrance Day for the Fallen of Israel's Wars at the Holon military cemetery.

The bereaved parents and Am Hofshi said Porush represents an anti-Zionist party, most of whose voters evade military service.

Porush retorted that the demand that he, who served in the army, not take place in memorial ceremonies for fallen soldiers is "an imperiousness" and "incitement" and

accused Am Hofshi of "turning Remembrance Day into a national incitement day."

"Apparently there is no limit to cynicism and disgrace," Am Hofshi leaders wrote Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, demanding to replace Porush with someone else at the memorial service.

"Imagine how a mother, whose son fell for the State of Israel, would feel when a man who doesn't send his or his voters' sons to the army, addresses her on Remembrance Day in the name of that state," they wrote. "Have you considered how a brother or sister, who have lost that is most dear to them, feel when on the day they want to be at one with the memory of their dear one, the state

sends them a man who represents an anti-Zionist, haredi party, which preaches and solicits to everything which is not Israel? In an understatement, this is the worst obscenity imaginable," the letter said.

Yoram Alper, whose son Idan was killed in last year's helicopter dis-

aster and buried in Holon, said: "I don't believe [Porush] could be sharing my grief at all. [Agudat Yisrael] is a group of people who don't send their sons to the army, don't share the burden or the risk with our sons..."

See PORUSH, Page 3

Shekel-reform move delayed another day

By DAVID HARRIS and NINA GILBERT

The announcement of the plan to lift most of the remaining restrictions on currency exchanges, originally scheduled for Sunday before being delayed until today, has been delayed by another 24 hours and will take place tomorrow, according to Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman's spokeswoman Esty Applebaum.

During a meeting yesterday among Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Neeman and Bank of Israel Governor Jacob Frenkel, it was decided to delay the plan's formal unveiling until after members of the Knesset Finance Committee have seen the program.

With Frenkel abroad today, that meeting will take place tomorrow morning.

Sources close to the negotiations on the contents of the program say Treasury officials are still concerned about the level of freedom to be afforded to foreign investors in local currency trading.

As a result, the source said it is likely the announcement will only detail the removal of restrictions on Israelis wishing to deal in foreign currency both at home and overseas, while leaving intact current restrictions on foreigners' participation in local currency trading.

"There will be no legal limits on any individual in Israel on where to invest here or abroad," Neeman told delegates from Israel Bonds in Jerusalem. Referring to recently expressed fears about a possible capital flight with full liberalization, he said "I'm sure foreigners will continue to invest here, because they can get a higher yield here than almost anywhere else."

However, Industry and Trade Minister Nathan Sharansky yesterday called for a short-term, four-percent reduction in interest rates.

"The government must formulate an emergency plan to rescue the economy," he said in a statement. Sharansky said the liberalization program should be carried out cautiously and discussed by a wide forum of economists.

The plot thickens

ANALYSIS

By SARAH HONIG

There are only some six months left until the municipal elections. That's not much for a party which has just decided to enter the fray with a yet-to-be-chosen candidate for Tel Aviv's mayoralty.

Yet this is what the Labor Party is up against right now. Its chairman Ehud Barak spent the past few months convincing the party that Tel Aviv's incumbent Mayor Ronni Milo is indeed unbeatable. Barak thus subscribed to the old adage of "if you can't lick 'em -

join 'em."

But yesterday the opposition leader performed an about-face and left many in Labor plainly baffled. They had no inkling why the previous decision not to challenge Milo was now being reversed.

If Barak was really taken by surprise, and as a result taken back, by Milo's announcement that former Tel Aviv police commissioner Gabi Last would be featured on his list, then the least Barak should have done was to check his facts and discover whether Last will in fact be positioned in the No. 2 slot.

A quick phone call would have

sufficed here and Barak would have been spared the embarrassment of pulling back from a previous decision, particularly a controversial one.

There is of course the possibility that Barak knew the truth all along but looked for a pretext to back away from a decision he had come to rue. Yet if this were a well-plotted Machiavellian scheme, it seems odd for Barak to have hinged it on an unexpected, chance utterance by Milo.

The broad consensus within Labor - both among Barak's boosters and knockers - is that no matter how this episode continues unfolding, Barak won't emerge from it well, after having shocked his party with the unprecedented decision not to make a bid for the Tel Aviv mayoralty.

See ANALYSIS, Page 7

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NEWS

in brief

Anti-missile radar rushed into operation

The Israeli-made ballistic missile tracking radar built for the Arrow missile has been rushed into operation and was deployed six weeks ahead of schedule, the Air Force magazine said in its recent edition.

The reason was the crisis with Iraq, the magazine said, adding that the system, known as Green Pine, has been operational since late February.

The move included a hastened draft of the doctrine, operating instructions and included simulators to enhance shorter training time. The system has been functioning as part of the overall anti-ballistic missile defense warning system, the magazine said. *Arich O'Sullivan*

Body of Yatta man found in kibbutz orchard

The body of a 25-year-old resident of Yatta in Shomron was found last night in an orchard of Kibbutz Tel Yitzhak. Police suspect it was a murder after finding signs of violence on the body, and are investigating whether his death was connected to a burglary attempt at the kibbutz or nearby. *Itim*

Tel Aviv burial society on strike

Workers at Tel Aviv's Hevra Kadisha burial society went on strike yesterday after management refused their request for an increase in salary. The workers announced they would not perform funerals, except for three that have already been reserved. The workers also said they will not receive the public or answer the telephone. *Itim*

20,000 attend jubilee celebration at Wembley

About 20,000 British Jews – the largest gathering of Jews ever recorded in Britain – converged on the Wembley Conference Center in London yesterday to attend celebrations marking Israel's 50th anniversary.

In addition to those from London, home to the largest concentration of British Jews, a fleet of about 200 buses brought members of smaller communities to participate in the festivities.

The evening's entertainment was highlighted by two sold-out performances of *The Spirit of Israel*, by Ehud Manor, a dramatization of Israel's development, with British stage and screen actors Laureen Lipman, Tom Conti, the National Symphony Orchestra and an Israeli cast. *Douglas Davis*

ANALYSIS

Continued from Page 1

Party morale suffered a blow, even if Barak's arguments were sensible and even if, as some charged, he sacrificed the Tel Aviv race so as to improve his chances in the looming showdown for prime minister. The idea was that any price is not too high to keep a spoiler like Milo out of the running as a third prime ministerial candidate, who would potentially bite into Barak's support base when the time comes.

Did the importance of the ultimate battle for the premiership shrink in the face of Last running for City Hall?

Few in Labor could figure it out, except to say that half drawing back from the decision not to field a mayoral candidate, but not going all the way either, would deepen the image of trying to please everyone, which Barak has already earned himself inside his own party.

Fellow Laborites keep score, and their list of Barak blunders opens with his summary sacking of half the party-headquarters employees, only to then take back the dismissal notices and

then reissue some of them. Then came his declaration that he was going to overhaul Labor with the aid of a professional director-general, rather than the politically-elected secretary-general. In the face of some squawks, Barak announced he would have both a director and a secretary.

Barak interfered in the secretary-general election and hand-picked MK Ra'anana Cohen, only to spend the ensuing months bickering and squabbling with his ostensible yes-man.

Most recently he spoke mildly against moves to scrap the Labor primaries for Knesset candidates, but made it amply clear that he had no intention of actually fighting these moves.

Yet Labor would forgive Barak anything, admit some of his most vociferous erstwhile supporters, had the party been sure that he will lead it to victory. But his showing at the polls has been steadily slipping.

A variety of pollsters show parity or even a lead for Netanyahu. When only the Jewish population is polled, Barak trails considerably behind. This, say Labor pundits, deepens his vulnerability and makes it easier to oppose him from within the party.

EU envoy joins pullback jockeying

By STEVE RODAN, MOHAMMED NAJIB and news agencies

European Union envoy Miguel Moratinos was expected to arrive last night for a series of meetings, amid a flurry of diplomatic contacts aimed at narrowing the gap between Israeli and Palestinian positions on the next IDF pullback in the West Bank.

Moratinos was to meet with Uzi Arad, political adviser to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, at Ben-Gurion Airport before Arad's departure for meetings in Washington.

Itim reported that Arad would meet at the White House with members of the US National Security Council and with Vice President Al Gore's security advisers in advance of Gore's planned visit here this week for the jubilee celebrations.

Moratinos is expected to meet today with US envoy Dennis Ross, Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat, and Saeb Erekat, the chief Palestinian negotiator.

Ross, who arrived on Saturday for meetings aimed at preparing for US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's planned May 4 sessions in London with Netanyahu and Arafat, met yesterday with Arafat in Gaza. He met beforehand with Netanyahu in Jerusalem.

In an interview yesterday with the US Fox news channel, Netanyahu urged the United States not to put pressure on Israel

to widen the scope of a planned troop withdrawal in the West Bank. The US has reportedly drawn up a plan calling for a 13 percent Israeli pullback in the West Bank. Israel agrees to only a 9% withdrawal, alongside a list of demands of the PA.

"I hope that the United States sticks to its position that Israel and Israel alone must determine its security and its redeployment," Netanyahu said.

"I assure you that we will do our utmost, but I will not go beyond those things that I think might jeopardize Israel's security," Netanyahu said.

"Suppose you give up too much land... you end up having 40,000 kids who are travelling on the roads of Judea and Samaria and a bus gets blown up," Netanyahu said.

"Look, the ticket comes to me, the responsibility is mine, the buck stops with me. It doesn't go anywhere else. It doesn't go to London or Paris or even Washington," he added.

Arafat met Ross and Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs Martin Indyk for several hours in Gaza last night.

"The main aim of the US mediation trip of Dennis Ross is to bring Netanyahu closer to the US ideas," Erekat said.

PA aides said a key issue remains an Israeli guarantee that it will implement a third further redeployment in the West Bank. They said the PA would not agree to combine a third IDF withdrawal with a final-status solution.



Right-wing demonstrators protest yesterday outside the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem against handing over land to the Palestinian Authority. (AP)

PA Secretary-General Ahmed Abdul Rahman reiterated that the Palestinians are preparing to declare statehood next year and have asked the United Nations and other international groups to offer their recognition.

Former prime minister Shimon Peres, who met with Arafat yesterday, said he agrees with the PA

chief's intention to declare a Palestinian state. Peres said he hopes neither side would have to resort to unilateral steps. The former prime minister said the solution is for different states, adding he wants to see a modern Palestinian state succeed economically.

Egypt's Middle East News Agency reported that Foreign Minister Amr Moussa would visit Gaza tomorrow for meetings with Arafat, to report on the results of Netanyahu's planned talks this week with President Hosni Mubarak in Cairo.

Ben-Elissar: No regrets about leaving US post

By HILLEL KUTTLER

WASHINGTON – Ambassador to the US Eliahu Ben-Elissar said yesterday he is leaving the post with "no regrets," but acknowledged that "things should have been different" during his service here.

Ben-Elissar will depart the embassy around summertime and assume the ambassadorship in Paris, replacing Avi Pazner, who will head the Jewish National Fund.

The reshuffling had been rumored here for a month, but Ben-Elissar went public only after he and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu finally concluded the deal last week.

Ben-Elissar said he did not want to discuss some of the unpleasant aspects of his service here, during which he was derided, often by other Israeli diplomats, for being excluded from Netanyahu's inner circle.

"This isn't the time now to take accounts. The time will come. Now it's more or less a natural development. I'm more or less satisfied. This is a joint decision," Ben-Elissar said of his impending move to Paris.

Ben-Elissar last served in Paris in 1958, for the Mossad. He is fluent in French and studied at the Sorbonne.

Ambassador to the UN Dore Gold has been rumored to be Ben-

Elissar's successor, but the latter would not discuss that possibility.

He said he decided to speak publicly on his job change in an Israel Television interview Friday night "before any new rumors began."

Ben-Elissar did not tell members of the US peace process team before they left Friday for Israel on the latest American mission to break the stalemate in negotiations.

However, he was to share the dais last night in New York with US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright for a banquet honoring the Seeds of Peace program and said he would discuss the move with her then.

Ben-Elissar called his nearly two years here "an incredible service" but would not say if it leaves a good or bad taste in his mouth.

Asked to cite his most memorable experience in Washington, Ben-Elissar pointed to last week's annual Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day ceremony in the capitol's rotunda, where for the first time the flags that were paraded included that of the Jewish Brigade.

"When it entered first, separate from the flags of the American brigades that liberated the camps, and left first, to the Partisan's Song, this was my most exciting moment here," he stated. "The Jewish Brigade flag, in Israel's 50th year, shows the fundamental status of the US-Israeli relationship."

NEWSLINE

With Gerald Steinberg

Q: Why are the Russians continuing to supply materials and technology for manufacturing missiles to Iran?

A: Russia has two very strong interests in continuing to provide technology to Iran. The economic incentives are very strong, both for the individuals, firms and politicians involved, especially because the market for Russian arms has become much smaller in the past decade. Iran is one of the few countries that has the cash and the motivation to buy these weapons. Secondly, there are strong political links between Russia and Iran which both countries want to maintain.

Q: What kind of weapons is Iran developing with the aid of Russia?

A: The Russians are not selling missiles or full-scale atomic weapons to Iran, but they are selling the components and in particular providing the technological know-how for the Iranians to develop missiles. They have supplied special steel, gyroscopes and experts who have helped develop and test such missiles.

Q: What is the extent of Iran's

missile development program and what kind of threat does it pose to Israel?

A: It is a very high priority for Iran in light of the testing that has been going on and the amount of financial and human resources that have been invested in the missile program. I would say that even if the Russians were to stop all assistance now, the Iranians would be able to complete the program within 18 months, by which time they would have developed missiles with a range of 1,500 kilometers or more. The threat, however, is not just directed at Israel, but also at Turkey and countries in southern Europe.

Q: What is the prospect of Iran at a later stage being able to fit non-conventional warheads to the long-range missiles it is developing?

A: This is real threat – not the missiles themselves but the warheads they carry, and this is something we should be very concerned about. The Iranians are working very hard on developing chemical, biological and nuclear warheads. It will take them longer to achieve this capability.

On the nuclear front, it will depend on a number of factors, notably whether they continue to receive Russian help and whether they will have the billions of dollars needed to continue this development. If they do, then Iran could have nuclear capability within the next five years.

The nuclear capability is not a "fait accompli" yet. The Russians have not yet transferred to Iran the nuclear technology necessary to make warheads.

Q: Why has the US, which is aware of the potential Iranian threat to the stability of the entire region, been unable so far to persuade Russia to cease its aid?

A: The American priority was first on preventing internal instability in Russia and they did not want to put too much pressure on President Yeltsin. The US, however, underestimated the rate at which the technology was being transferred from Russia to Iran. The question now is whether pressure or sanctions can be applied with respect to nuclear, biological and chemical weapons.

Interview by David Rudge

Gerald Steinberg is an arms control expert at Bar-Ilan University's Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies.

BARAK

Continued from Page 1

Amit, who was slated to be Milo's Laborite No. 2, announced at the meeting that he was bowing out for personal reasons.

When Barak was told that Last was to replace Amit in the second slot, he took the rostrum and announced to the bureau members that "Labor will now weigh again its decision not to challenge Milo. We may well field our own candidate against him. His move is unacceptable. In a partnership there can be no unilateral moves. This is a betrayal of trust. We will not agree to any uncoordinated moves."

A bureau member heckled Barak: "You deserve this. You brought it upon yourself."

Amit said his resignation had "nothing to do with Last. I had no notion he was being brought into the list. This in any case is an

ugly maneuver on Milo's part, and I feel the stinging insult suffered by Labor. Last is being brought in to take my slot – the Labor slot. He is not even close politically to Labor and Labor was not consulted."

Amit and Last were reputed to be uncompromising rivals when both served in the police.

Milo reacted by saying that "obviously Barak and the rest of the Labor bureau have got their facts wrong. I never mentioned Last as moving into Amit's second slot or being groomed for deputy mayor. This is much ado about nothing. But besides all

that, I am perfectly within my rights to introduce anyone I see fit onto my list. This is not a Labor list and does not need the rubber-stamp approval of Labor's bureaucracy. With all due respect, I am not yet a Labor member."

Milo added he does "not fear Barak's threat that he would field a candidate against me. Up to now he has been saying that Labor can't beat me, and I think he was quite right. The question is if it's worth squandering a lot of money when the result is a foregone conclusion."

In deep sorrow we announce the passing of a very beloved woman

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Barry and Michael Davis

on the death of their

FATHER

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Suburbanites protest capital annexation plans

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH

Angry residents of Mevasseret Zion, Abu Ghosh, and Tzur Hadassah took to the streets yesterday to protest against Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert's proposal to annex their suburban communities to the capital.

Although Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu yesterday assured Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi - himself a Mevasseret resident - that the suburb would not be included in Olmert's plan, residents demanded assurances that its planning rights would remain under the jurisdiction of the local council. They vowed to continue their struggle until the proposal is cancelled and heads of local councils affected by the annexation plan intend to set up a

protest tent opposite the Prime Minister's Office today.

In yesterday's protest, hundreds of residents holding signs attempted to block early morning traffic and burned tires, while others drove their own cars slowly and staged fake breakdowns, bringing traffic to a halt.

Some residents declared that Olmert's plans would undermine their lifestyle and destroy their green areas, others complained that they had fled the capital because of the growing influence of the ultra-religious. Residents also threatened to boycott the state's jubilee celebrations.

Police detained 11 demonstrators for questioning and one border policeman was lightly injured during scuffles that broke out with demonstrators as police

forced them off the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway. Jerusalem police chief Cmdr. Yair Yitzhaki denied residents' claims that police used violence against the protesters, but stressed that "we will not allow the main road artery leading to the capital to close."

The Jerusalem Municipality has said that the proposal is not linked to demographic or geographic considerations, but is meant merely to centralize services and save money on administration.

Unknown vandals spray-painted Olmert's car in red letters reading "No to annexation." Police are investigating. A similar slogan painted on the outside of the municipality was removed by workers later in the day.

Syrian Golan earthworks on hold

By ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

The IDF still sees the Syrian earthworks carried out in the demilitarized zone as threatening military fortifications, but the Syrians have ceased working on them until a UN team inspects the site, senior military sources said yesterday.

The IDF believes that long ramps dug along the Syrian border with the Golan Heights can be used as tank positions for both

defensive and offensive purposes. The Syrians have claimed that the earthworks are for agricultural purposes.

"The Syrians are making sure to keep the (1974) disengagement agreement. It is not as if they haven't violated here and there, but it wasn't due to a desire to violate the agreement," said Brig-Gen. David Tzur, commander of the IDF Liaison Unit for Foreign Forces.

"If the construction is military as

we believe it is then it is a violation. If it is agriculture as they claim, then it is not a violation," he said.

"For now all the work has been ceased and we are waiting for a representative from the UN agriculture organization which contributed funds for agricultural work to come and examine it," he said.

"For now there is an injunction and no work is being carried out," he said.



Signing again

Tel Aviv high school pupils pose yesterday at the Tel Aviv Museum of the Declaration of Independence, after signing the commitments expressed in the declaration as part of the 'Israel Signs Again' campaign for the jubilee year. Signatures from around the country will eventually be displayed in the museum.

(Israel Sam)

Tel Aviv municipal officials suspected of corruption

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

Police yesterday opened an investigation into suspicions that senior officials in the Tel Aviv Municipality received bribes and favors from contractors for helping to get them projects worth millions of shekels.

"The findings are based on several investigations in a number of departments and concern quite a few people who took bribes, including some in very senior positions," said City Comptroller Arye Segalson, who has been investigating the affair for more than a year at the request of Mayor Ronni Milo.

Segalson presented his findings to the Tel Aviv police yesterday, including thousands of documents, recordings and photographs. He said he has "substantiated incriminating material." A team of three investigators helped Segalson with his query.

Some 10 senior officials and other workers in the municipality's sanitation and construction departments have been suspected of helping contractors get tenders for large city projects in exchange for bribes and other benefits and gifts.

Milo does not intend to suspend anyone at this stage or alert the suspects, so as not to hinder the police inquiry - which began yesterday with a special investigation team.

In the next few days senior officials and workers connected to the affair will be questioned by the police.

Poll: US sympathy for Israel at 20-year high

By MARILYN HENRY

Fifty-eight percent of Americans sympathize with Israel over the Palestinians in the Middle East conflict, the first time in 20 years of polling that support has reached that high, according to a nationwide *New York Times* poll published yesterday.

However, only one-quarter of Americans think Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu or Palestinian Authority leader Yasser Arafat has kept their side of the peace accords.

American Jews were more likely than others to support a Palestinian homeland, the poll showed.

Fifty-seven percent of 1,395 people polled said they had a generally favorable opinion of Israel, while only 11% had such an opinion of the PLO. Nearly half - 49% - view Israel as a "special place," while 18% said they once had viewed it as special, but no longer did, the *Times* reported.

There were significant differences in attitudes toward Israel and the PLO when it came to the peace process.

Americans, between 1989 and 1998, had steadily increased their view that Israel "had done enough to prove it is interested in peace." In 1989, 17% answered "yes." That percentage rose to 37% in 1993 and to 43% in 1998.

In contrast, the sentiment toward the PLO's efforts was erratic. In 1989, 14% said the PLO "had done enough to prove it is interested in peace." That rose to 29% in 1993, but dropped back to 15% in the 1998 poll, the *Times* reported.

In the "personal approval" category, Netanyahu seemed to be largely an unknown. Eleven percent of Americans said they had a favorable opinion of him and another 11% said they had an unfavorable opinion, while 77% said they had no opinion.

Ten percent said they had a favorable opinion of Arafat, while 42% had an unfavorable one. The rest said they had no opinion.

Only one-quarter of those polled said Netanyahu had mostly kept Israel's peace agreements, and one-quarter said Arafat had kept the Palestinian side.

In an unusual development, the

232 American Jews among those polled were likelier to favor a "Palestinian homeland in the occupied territories." Some 45% of American Jews said they favored a homeland, while 42% were opposed. In general, 38% of all Americans supported a Palestinian homeland, while 28% were opposed and 34% said they had no opinion.

The gap in opinion, the *Times* said, was likely due to the fact that American Jews are more knowledgeable - and therefore less undecided - on the question of a Palestinian homeland. Only 13% of the Jews polled said they had no opinion.

And although most Americans did not know that Israel is the largest recipient of US foreign aid, 58% favored maintaining the current level of support, according to the poll.

A majority did not think Israel exaggerated the military threat from Arab countries. However, the depth of support for Israel seemed limited in the event of war. Forty-four percent of Americans would want to stay out of the conflict if Israel seemed in

danger of being defeated by Arab armies. Twenty-four percent would favor sending arms and equipment, while 22% would favor sending troops.

In contrast, only 7% of American Jews advocated not sending troops, according to the telephone poll, which was conducted from April 15-20. A plurality of Americans have always sided with Israel, but this poll was the first in 20 years of polling in which a strong majority of 58% said they sympathized with Israel over the Palestinians. That was up from 48% in 1997. In both years, 13% said they sided with the Palestinians.

Politics, religion and history were cited as the reasons behind Americans' support for Israel. Seventy-six percent said the US has a vital interest in Israel. Asked what the word Israel brought to mind, 26% said war or conflict. The next-largest, 13%, mentioned the Holy Land or the Bible.

Sixty-four percent agreed with that "because of what happened to the Jews during World War II, Israelis are right to defend their homeland at any cost."

PORUSH

Continued from Page 1

"Therefore I don't believe he could share our pain, either. It's a group which uses the government solely to advance their party's interests."

"If they want to take part in the memorial services, they should first include the prayer for the safety of IDF soldiers in the prayer books they send us, the bereaved parents. But they've deliberately taken this prayer out of the prayer book," he added.

Alper said if hardy party representatives attended the memorial service "they would have to stand at attention during the mourning siren, and that would be a pity."

Meretz leader MK Yossi Sarid urged Porush to renounce the task and called the decision to send him "wretched, wrong and in bad taste. Porush is a nice and pleasant man, but this is not a personal issue. Whoever doesn't send his sons to serve in the army should

not be sent as the government's and Knesset's representative on Remembrance Day."

Sarid added "I'm told Remembrance Day for the Fallen of Israel's Wars doesn't appear at all on the Agudat Yisrael calendar. If so, it shouldn't appear in the deputy minister's agenda, either."

Porush said he sees no reason not to represent the government. "There are many religious bereaved families, and the government's representative at memorial services has never been restricted," he said.

Asked whether he would not consider the feelings of the bereaved families and hardy individuals' reluctance to stand during the mourning siren, Porush replied

it would be difficult to find someone acceptable to all the bereaved families and that hundreds or thousands of the fallen soldiers were observant.

"Those quarrel-mongers, devoid of all shame and national responsibility, would do well to examine how many IDF soldiers vote for the religious parties, certainly more than for Meretz, whose leader recommends I don't participate in the memorial service," Porush retorted.

The Defense Ministry yesterday made it clear that it was not the ministry but the cabinet and Knesset secretariats which decided which ministers and MKs attend the memorial services at military ceremonies.

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PALESTINIAN PRESS REVIEW

By MICHAEL SELA

Declaration of statehood

A year from now, on May 4, 1999, the permanent accords settling the relationship between Israel and a Palestinian entity should be completed, according to the Oslo-2 agreement signed in Cairo on May 4, 1994. But the Palestinians have raised the possibility of a one-sided declaration of a statehood by then.

This option is based on the Cairo agreement, which limits the interim stage to five years. According to the Palestinian interpretation, they have the right to do it, given the fact that the permanent status negotiations have not started.

Hassan Batal says in *Al-Ayyam* that the declaration of independence actually took place five years before the Oslo treaty. During the four years of so called autonomy, both sides succeeded in giving quite a number of security answers besides the ability to overcome the obstacle of mutual recognition, a great achievement for both peoples.

The problem is that the Likud government does not like "the Oslo dish." Analyzing the disagreement

in the June 4, 1967 borders, therefore "total Israeli withdrawal does not threaten Israel's existence." But some Israelis consider it a threat to the Jewish settlements, "which are the biggest threat to the Palestinian state." According to Batal, until a miraculous compromise is found for a "Palestinian self-determination with Jewish settlements... the hour glass running for five years is about to run out." Batal considers it useless to negotiate a final status while one side imposes preconditioned terms. Declaring an independent state after the timetable is over "will force the Israelis to deal with a new reality. The Israeli headquarters were surprised with Sadat's visit and with the intifada, and may be with Oslo, too. Never mind giving them another surprise."

War of declarations

Ali Jirbawi considers the "war of

declarations" a useless tactic for the Palestinians. Instead of pushing forward the peace process, it creates tension and arouses doubts in Israel, he writes in *Al-Ayyam*. Such declarations might serve as a proof for those Israelis who claim "that we have other motives in our negotiations," and put more obstacles on the way.

He is sure that "the Israelis are not going to make the establishment of a Palestinian state an easy job for us." It might also encourage them to deepen their hold on the settlements. "Israel does not need our declarations to accomplish her plans, however, we do not have to give her an excuse to do it." Instead of declarations, Jirbawi suggests the Palestinians prepare themselves for the moment of declaring their state. These include the study of the international law and the documents needed in order to submit

the declaration to the UN on May 4, 1999. It includes local preparations, such as unifying the legal system, the school curriculum, and other spheres of daily life of both parts of this planned state.

Uniting ranks

Al-Hayat al-Jadida publisher Nabil Amru cares for "the internal front," the relationship between the government and the political opposition, mainly Hamas, "which has not yet been properly settled." He calls for urgent introspection. This does not mean festive conferences under the title of national unity, but the foundation of a "permanent workshop for those who are interested in the fate of the nation," to prepare plans based on reality not romantic dreams... When Netanyahu tries to expand the basis of his coalition to include the racist fascist elements, we are in greater need to unite our ranks."

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Historian Dina Porat:

Pius XII saved fewer Jews than claimed

By Jerusalem Post Staff

A Tel Aviv University expert has challenged the Vatican's recent claim that "hundreds of thousands of Jews" were rescued by Pope Pius XII, claiming the real number is far less.

Dr. Dina Porat, whose remarks are to be part of this evening's inauguration of TAU's Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism, which she will head, said that in no country were hundreds of thousands of Jews saved.

"The total number of Jews who managed to

escape is approximately half a million, while the remainder were mainly in the eastern bloc and the USSR, where it is known the Vatican had no influence. Although Jews were hidden in monasteries and churches, to their credit, they were a few thousand, and definitely not hundreds of thousands," Porat said.

Referring to the Vatican document, "We Remember: A Reflection on the Holocaust," issued in March, Porat said it was a very moving and important document, especially for use in fighting Holocaust-deniers, antisemitism, racism, and xenophobia. However, Porat said,

the document does not take responsibility for the Church's role in creating a negative image of Jews that paved the way for the Holocaust.

Instead, the document says that "some Christians" faltered, and that the Jews' devotion and achievements created fear and envy. This, combined with Nazism, nationalism, and racism are the primary reasons for the Holocaust, it says.

The document minimizes the uniqueness of the Holocaust in that it notes the millions of victims of Communism and nationalism in various countries, and does not forget "the drama of the Middle East," says Porat.

Justice Goldberg sole candidate for state comptroller

By BAT-SHEVA TSUR

Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi, accompanied by coalition whip MK Meir Sheerit, will meet tomorrow with Supreme Court Justice Eliezer Goldberg to propose that he stand as sole candi-

date for the post of state comptroller.

When Hanegbi proposed the candidacy to the Knesset two months ago, it was accepted by the various factions.

However, MK Yossi Katz, head of the Knesset State Control

Committee, yesterday called on Hanegbi to refrain from participating in the meeting due to take place in Goldberg's bureau in the Supreme Court.

"It does not behoove the justice minister - who is part of the executive, which is criticized by the

state comptroller - to take part in such a meeting," Katz said.

Goldberg, 67, was born in Jerusalem. He completed his legal studies at the Hebrew University in 1955. He has been a judge since 1964 and was appointed to the Supreme Court in 1984.



Star to star

Action film star Jean-Claude Van Damme kisses the flag yesterday during an appearance at Tel Aviv's Planet Hollywood restaurant. (AP)

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Gov't seeking to avoid Arutz 7 closure

By BAT SHEVA TSUR and MARGOT DUDKEVITCH

The Ministerial Committee on Illegal Broadcasts met yesterday to discuss Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein's recommendation that Arutz 7, the settlers' radio station, be shut down or have its legal status redefined.

The committee, headed by Communications Minister Limor Livnat, was said to be seeking a way to prevent the closure, particularly because of pressure from the NRP, which is closely associated with the station. Government sources also reportedly expressed fears that closing the pirate radio station could torpedo Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's attempts to get Moledet to join the coalition.

MK Rehavam Ze'evi (Moledet), interviewed on the station yesterday, declared it would be an outrage to shut it down and could well be reason enough to prevent him from joining the government.

But MK Benny Elon (Moledet) said on Israel Radio yesterday that he believes the move was a positive one, and would allow the station to broadcast from Judea and Samaria instead of from a ship outside Israel's territorial waters.

Although there was no official word from the committee yesterday evening, NRP MK Hanan Porat said that a solution would soon be found for Arutz 7.

"In just a few days, there will be solution to the [station's] legal framework and it will be able to broadcast from dry land," said Porat, who heads the Knesset's

Law Committee.

According to Channel 1, the settlers' radio station will soon be recognized as a regional radio station.

Rubinstein's opinion was handed down at a meeting of Justice Ministry officials with the police and GSS representatives at the end of the week, in anticipation of an upcoming hearing on a petition to the High Court of Justice, the Justice Ministry confirmed.

Earlier, the attorney-general had expressed the opinion that the station must be shut down, along with other pirate stations, unless it is licensed and operates according to the regulations for a public radio station.

The petition, presented by Labor MK Eitan Cabel, calls for the closure of the station along

with other pirate radio stations. The court earlier this month ordered the government to show cause why Arutz 7 was continuing to operate illegally. Cabel pointed out that the ship from which the radio operates had entered Israeli territorial waters. In addition, he claimed, Arutz 7 had set up antennas in various parts of the country.

At the meeting last week, Rubinstein reportedly said he could no longer prevent the police from taking action against the station and others like it. General Security Service head Ami Ayalon had reportedly said the closure should be prevented because the settlers had threatened to "rebel" if their voice was no longer heard. Arutz 7 started operating nine years ago, during the intifada.

The plans to shut the station or redefine its legal status were criticized by settlers as well as government officials, who charged that past governments supported the Voice of Peace for some 20 years, and it is inconceivable that the government is considering shutting down the settlers' voice.

Arutz 7 technical manager Yoel Tsir said the station is heard by hundreds of thousands of people. He said the cost of operating the Eretz HaNavi ship outside of Israel's territorial waters come to some \$500,000 a year.

Meanwhile the station broadcast comments Livnat made some months ago saying "the station enjoys a high rating and is the best proof that people want to hear a different kind of radio."

Restaurateurs seek to retain foreign chefs

By LIAT COLLINS

Restaurateurs complained to a Knesset committee yesterday that the reduction in the number of permits for foreign workers in their field will lead to the closure of many ethnic-cuisine restaurants.

The Knesset Committee on Foreign Workers, chaired by MK Ophir Pines (Labor), discussed the 50 percent drop in the number of permits for foreigners employed in ethnic-food restaurants it decided on two weeks ago.

"The situation of a Thai chef and a Romanian construction worker is not the same," said Pines. "There should be a distinction between the general policy on foreign workers and the policy of a specific branch, such as the restaurants," Pines said. He compared the situation to a football or basketball team which employs a few foreigners to raise the playing level.

MK Moshe Gafni (United Torah Judaism) said Israel is getting into an absurd situation in which the number of foreign workers equals the number of unemployed.

Chef Yisrael Aharoni, who owns a chain of restaurants, disagreed: "With all due respect and sorrow, these ethnic chefs have specialties that cannot be simply replaced by an unemployed person from Ofakim."

He said that a Japanese restaurant in Tel Aviv which closed this week had been affected by the reduced quota of foreign workers and as a result 17 Israelis had also lost their jobs.

Aharoni said 1,200 foreign specialists are currently employed in Chinese, Japanese, Thai, Indian, and other ethnic cuisine restaurants.

Tourism Ministry Director-General Shabtai Shai said it is important that the chefs in ethnic-food restaurants come from those countries.

Backing him up, Dan Roberg, chairman of the Israel Chefs Association, said he and other Israeli chefs find it difficult to cook Thai food properly.



Jobless persons demonstrate yesterday opposite the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem. (Isaac Harari)

Jobless protest as cabinet postpones debate

Dozens of unemployed from Beit She'an and Galilee towns and villages yesterday demonstrated opposite the Prime Minister's Office during a cabinet meeting on the unemployment situation. The ministers were to have sought solutions for the worst pockets of unemployment in the nation, but the discussion was postponed by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to discuss the second phase of withdrawal from the territories.

Histadrut chairman Amir Peretz, who participated in the

Histadrut-organized demonstration, said that the cabinet's decision to postpone the discussion proves it does not care about the unemployed.

Under the slogan, "Stop the Unemployment Tragedy," the demonstration included people like Benny Cohen, the father of four from Galilee, who said the government's policy gambles with people's fate and shows a lack of awareness of the long-range trouble they are in.

"The prime minister made lots of promises about jobs, and we're

all still sitting at home without any solution to this difficult problem," he said.

During yesterday's cabinet meeting, Netanyahu said he plans to bring a proposal for large-scale investment in infrastructure to the next meeting, to take place after Independence Day. Netanyahu said that such investment will increase growth and reduce unemployment, and that he would consult with several ministers before presenting his plan.

Meanwhile, Labor Party leader Ehud Barak said at yesterday

afternoon's meeting of the Labor Party bureau that the government is continuing its self-destructive path "and its voyage towards the iceberg."

Barak, who visited unemployed at Or Akiva, said "the scope of unemployment shows the callousness of the government of freezes and depression: a political freeze and a deepening feeling of depression in our society. We must lend a hand to these unemployed and bring their cries to the doors of the cabinet."

(Itim)

Jerusalemites to pay more for mobile intensive care

By JUDY SIEGEL

Starting next week, Jerusalemites who have the misfortune to need treatment in mobile intensive care units (MICUs) will have to pay double the regular fee, -NIS 890 - because the Jerusalem Municipality has failed to pay its debts to Magen David Adom.

The MDA spokesman said that it has demanded for months that the city pay back its NIS 600,000 debt for the service, which is provided by highly equipped ambulances manned by a physician and paramedic. But MDA is no longer willing to subsidize the municipality, he said, so Jerusalemites will have to pay twice as much for the service.

MICUs around the country are subsidized by the local authorities in whose jurisdiction they operate.

Meanwhile, sanctions by MDA workers around the country due to the Treasury's delays in paying them special duty and high-risk pay have been postponed for 30 days due to restraining orders issued by the Tel Aviv Regional Labor Court.

Where to eat in Israel

- JERUSALEM**
- ANGELO RISTORANTE ITALIANO** - Frommer's 1997 Guide says, "The most superb pasta in the country." Also fresh fish & Roman specialties. Kasher. Daily. Call owners Angelo Di Segni / Lori Rosenkrantz for reservations. 9 Harkanos. Tel. 02-623 6085.
 - BIRD OF PARADISE (Old City)** - Fresh home made food - Dairy and vegetarian cuisine, mellow atmosphere in the heart of the Jewish Quarter, live music and poetry. Kasher. 56 Chabad St. (above the Cardo) Tel. 02-625 4723.
 - DARNA** - Authentic Moroccan Restaurant, KOSHER. Our home is your home. Business lunch; salads, couscous, dessert, traditional mint tea. Only NIS 65. with this ad. Open 12-3 p.m., 6:30-11:30 p.m. 3 Harkanos St. Tel. 02-624 5406.
 - EUCALYPTUS** - The taste of Israel from Biblical Days. Excellent meat, fish & vegetarian dishes enhanced by a masterful use of herbs and spices. Luncheon specials. Evening entertainment. Rave reviews. Kasher. 7 Harkanos St. Tel. 02-624 4331.
 - KOHINOOR Kasher Indian Restaurant** - Kashrut supervision by Rabbi Yosef Fink. Buffet lunch NIS 49 (children NIS 25) Open 12-4 p.m., 6 p.m.-midnight. Holiday Inn Hotel, The Crown Plaza. Tel. 02-653 6867, Tel/Fax. 02-653 6867.
 - MARVAD HAKSAMIN ORIENTAL RESTAURANT** - Mid-Eastern and Yemenite food; Kasher/meat. Open for lunch & dinner till 11 p.m., Sun.-Thurs., Fri. till 3 p.m. 16 King George St., (next to Ozevet). Tel. 02-625 4470.
 - NORMAN'S STEAKY BURGER** - Freshest burgers, steaks, ribs, chicken, fish, salads and more, grilled to perfection. Family dining. Open during Pessach. Kasher. Jerusalem Rabbinate. 27 Emek Refaim, German Colony. Tel. 02-565 6603.
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NEWS in brief

Peace camp: No Independence Day celebration

The Organization of Peace Movements has called off its Independence Day celebration following yesterday's decision by the High Court of Justice to reject an appeal which would have forced the Jubilee Association (JA) to fund its planned program with no strings attached.

The court accepted the position of the JA that it would provide funds on a strictly non-partisan basis and if there was no criticism of the government.

Peace Movements coordinator Naftali Raz said that the organization had no intention of forcing artists to sign a document that they would not attack the government at the rally.

Batsheva Tsur and Helen Kaye

Kahane sentenced for obstructing justice

Benjamin Kahane of the settlement Tapuah was sentenced yesterday to nine months in jail for obstructing justice, after he was found guilty of slipping out a back door when police came to his home in March, 1996, to find out why he had not turned up for questioning.

According to the prosecution, when Kahane saw the police enter his home, he left via another exit, and was subsequently charged with escaping arrest and obstructing justice. The first charge was subsequently dropped, but he was found guilty of the second charge.

Itim

Tel Aviv beaches opening today

Tel Aviv's beaches officially open today - and the rest of the country's in May - but three persons have already drowned this year, Magen David Adom said yesterday. The rescue organization notes that many bathers go into the water even though lifeguard stations are closed. After a drowning victim is pulled from the water, how fast medical help arrives - particularly a mobile intensive care unit - can determine whether the victim will survive. If the MICU arrives in less than eight minutes, the success rate of resuscitation is relatively high.

Judy Siegel

Search for missing yeshiva student continues

The search for missing Jerusalem yeshiva student Eliahu Evenson was stepped up yesterday in Nahal David near Eilat. Evenson has been missing since Thursday afternoon when he failed to meet friends at Nahal David. A police spokesman said some 25 of his fellow Mir Yeshiva students were helping in the search, but since helicopters and trackers failed to locate him, his description was being given to the public. Evenson is 1.8 meters tall, bearded, wears glasses, and was wearing a blue and black shirt and similarly colored Bermuda shorts, a black baseball hat and black sneakers. He speaks English. Anyone who has seen him since last Thursday is asked to contact police.

Itim

71-year-old man charged in girlfriend's murder

Yamin Ohana, 71, of Nesher, was indicted yesterday by Haifa District Court for the murder of his girlfriend, Bella Viresta, 31, on April 5. Ohana allegedly shot her five times after she decided to break off their two-year relationship. Judge Shmuel Finkelstein remanded Ohana until May 10, when a hearing is to be held on whether to remand him through trial.

Itim

School psychologists renew sanctions

Some 1,800 school psychologists yesterday renewed sanctions they began last week at 264 local authorities. Among the sanctions, the psychologists have stopped participating in evaluation committees which determine advancement from kindergarten to first grade and placement in special education classes, resulting in the closure of the committees.


Itim

Reform center cornerstone laying tomorrow

The cornerstone for the Samson Center, the Movement for Progressive Judaism's new center for culture, education, and information, is to be laid tomorrow in Jerusalem, with the participation of Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky, Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert, and Jewish Agency Chairman Avraham Burg.

The project was made possible by a \$5 million donation from Charles Schusterman of Oklahoma. The center, named for Schusterman's father, will include a 400-seat theater, a conference center, a large hall, study halls, and a guest house for lecturers and guests.

Jerusalem Post Staff



MINISTRY OF SCIENCE

The First Israel-France Binational Workshop on Failure of Materials

Leading Israeli and French scientists in the field of Failure of Materials will participate in a workshop to be held on May 11 and 12, 1998, at Kiyat Anavim Guest House.

The following themes will be addressed:

- ☐ Micromechanisms and microstructural aspects of failure
- ☐ Damage mechanics
- ☐ Static and dynamic fracture
- ☐ Interfacial failure Computational failure mechanics

The workshop is organized by the Israeli Ministry of Science in the framework of bilateral agreement with the French Ministry of Science.

The event is sponsored by the Conf rence des Grandes Ecoles and the Technion.

The number of places is limited.

Additional details can be found at: <http://meeng.technion.ac.il/~seminar/failure.html>

To receive information in the professional area:
Dr. Avraham Cohen, Director, Materials, Chemical and Energy Research, Tel. 02-5411136/7.

To receive information concerning administrative aspects (registration and hotel details):
Beld Shimon, Head, Conference Unit, Tel. 02-5411122/3

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Economists: Japan \$127b. stimulus package a gamble

By YOKO KOBAYASHI

TOKYO (Reuters) - The huge package to boost Japan's economy will likely succeed in the short-term, but may create even bigger problems ahead, economists say. Facing criticism from all sides about its handling of Japan's stagnant economy, the government agreed last week to pump in 16.65 trillion yen (\$127 billion) through spending, tax cuts and government-backed lending. But analysts say that if the basic structure of the economy is not changed, the downturn could return with an even higher government debt load that could then require higher taxes. "The worst case scenario is that structural reforms will not proceed and there will be an increase in needless state spending," said Hisashi Yamada, an economist at Japan Research Institute. "Japan's country rating would be downgraded on bad economic conditions and a rise in budget deficit, which would raise the cost of funding. It's hellish," Yamada said. Earlier this month, Moody's Investors Service shocked the markets by warning that its outlook for Japan's blue-chip bond rating was now negative. Japan has long enjoyed the top

Triple-A ratings for its government debt, backed up by the world's largest foreign currency reserves.

As part of the package, the Fiscal Structural Reform Council on Friday approved a two-year delay, to April 2006, in the target for halving the budget deficit to three percent of gross domestic product and for halting the flotation of deficit-financing bonds.

The change in the Fiscal Reform Law, which was enacted late last year, is a blow to Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto, who had staked a large share of his political capital on cutting Japan's budget deficits.

In addition, the panel decided to lift an across-the-board cap for social welfare spending in 1999/2000 — a move some fear will set a bad precedent.

The government plans to change the fiscal reform law during the current parliament session, which ends in mid-June.

"What bothers me is the decision on spending caps... The whole purpose is to force people to choose what they want to spend money on and in that sense, if the action turns out to be a precedent, it is a very bad message to give to the bond markets," said Robert Feldman, chief economist for Morgan Stanley Japan Ltd.

"Once we allow one exception on ceilings, every other ceiling could crumble," added Yamada.

Yamada said the current fiscal reform goals were a mere numbers game, giving no long-term vision of how to cut spending in the high-cost pension, medical and education sectors.

The Ministry of Finance, in its booklet promoting fiscal reforms, stressed that an increase in state debt would lead to an increase in taxes for bond redemptions and higher interest rates from increased bond issues.

A snowballing fiscal deficit would also lead to a weaker yen on the loss of confidence from the international community in Japan's fiscal policy, and would also delay much needed economic structural reforms, the booklet said.

The public needs to be more aware that future generations would suffer the consequences of fiscal deficit for the comfort they enjoy now, Masayoshi Takemura, a member of the Fiscal Structural Reform Council and a former finance minister, said in a recent interview.

Economists noted future tax increases may become inevitable as Japan's economy is unlikely to return to the kind of strong growth it enjoyed in the 1970s.

and there also are recent examples of tax cuts leading to later increases.

Last April, Japan raised its consumption tax to 5% from 3% to finance past income tax rebates that were introduced to boost the economy.

MOF has insisted there should be no tearing down of the pillars of fiscal reform: ceilings on spending, the 3% of GDP target for the deficit and the halting of deficit-financing bond issues.

"We will not change the basics of the fiscal reforms," MOF vice minister Koji Tanami told a news conference last week.

But this is not the first time Japan has embarked on a mission to balance its fiscal spending with revenues by a certain target date and failed.

Japan first set a goal in mid 1970s to cut deficit-financing bond issues by 1980, then delayed that to 1984 due to an oil price shock, and further postponed it to 1989 after an economic downturn in the early 1980s.

Japan was finally able to achieve its coveted goal of eliminating deficit-financing bond issues in the 1989/90 budget, because the "bubble economy" of the late 1980s brought a surge in tax revenues.



Chernobyl anniversary

Relatives of Vasily Ignatenko, a fireman killed at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, mourn at his grave at a cemetery outside Moscow yesterday, the 12th anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster that still continues to haunt the people of the former Soviet republics. (AP)

Iran arrests Briton for spying — paper

TEHRAN (AP) — A British man has been arrested in western Iran for alleged spying for Britain, an Iranian newspaper reported yesterday.

Al-Jomhuri Islami daily quoted unidentified sources as identifying the man as Robert Gavin and saying he worked for Britain's MI6 intelligence agency. Iran's official Islamic Republic News Agency gave his name as Robert Gavin.

The paper said he had been posing as a journalist but confessed to spying after he was detained.

An official at the British Embassy in Tehran said diplomats were trying to determine if the report was accurate.

"We have not heard anything else or had any dealings with anyone by the name given in the newspaper," the official said.

He spoke on condition of anonymity.

In London, a spokesman for the Foreign Office said: "Nobody has been reported to us as missing, and we have not heard from the Iranian authorities. So all we have is the report that a British national has been arrested. We are seeking to establish the facts."

The spokesman was speaking with customary anonymity.

The Farsi-language newspaper said the man was picked up while filming in a military zone.

Starr questions Hillary Clinton for 5 hours on Whitewater

By PETER BAKER and SUSAN SCHMIDT

WASHINGTON (Washington Post) — Independent counsel Kenneth Starr and his deputies questioned First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton under oath for nearly five hours at the White House Saturday as prosecutors appear to be nearing a possible decision on whether to seek to indict her in the long-running Whitewater investigation.

The afternoon-long interview, which was videotaped so that it can be shown to a grand jury in Little Rock, centered on her legal work when her husband was governor of Arkansas.

The four-hour, 40-minute session was the sixth time the first lady has been interviewed by the

independent counsel's office, but it was her longest meeting with prosecutors to date and came just two weeks before the grand jury is set to expire.

The fact that Starr would conduct such a lengthy interview at this juncture in his four-year probe — even as his staff has been consumed with the Monica Lewinsky investigation — suggested he is acting with an eye toward making a decision on whether to bring charges against the first lady before the Little Rock grand jury disbands May 7.

However, the expiration of the grand jury would not rule out future action against Hillary Clinton, because a separate Washington grand jury will continue to operate and has heard much of the testimony Starr has

gathered that could bear on whether Hillary Clinton misled regulators or tried to conceal documents about the nature of her legal work in the mid-1980s for the failed Madison Guaranty S&L, which was owned by the Clintons' Whitewater business partners James B. and Susan McDougal.

Hillary Clinton has denied any wrongdoing, and the White House gave no appearance of alarm about her interview Saturday. President Clinton did not even stay at the executive mansion while his wife was questioned, instead escaping for a sunny spring afternoon golf game at the Robert-Trent Jones Golf Club in Gainesville, Virginia with Rep. Vic Fazio, Robert Trent Jones Jr. and his son.

After Starr and his staff left the building, the Clintons dressed in formal wear and headed to the Washington Hilton for the annual White House Correspondents Association dinner.

While lawyers for the first lady had long understood she would have to testify at least one more time about Whitewater, they negotiated Saturday's interview quietly in recent weeks, keeping it secret from virtually everyone, including key officials on the first lady's staff and in the White House counsel's office.

Afterward, the White House issued a brief statement saying that the subjects of the interview concerned the legal work done by the Rose Law Firm, where Hillary Clinton once worked, on behalf of Madison Guaranty Savings &

Loan and the first lady's "relationship with related individuals."

"Consistent with past practice, no further statements about the content of the interview will be made at this time," said White House counsel Charles F.C. Ruff.

The questioning came in the wake of new information provided to prosecutors by former Arkansas governor Jim Guy Tucker, who became a cooperating witness for Starr in February and has made numerous appearances before the Little Rock grand jury since then.

Starr has been trying to determine whether the first lady has testified truthfully about her business dealings and legal work with Madison and its owners, the McDougals.

Although she has been interviewed several times by the independent counsel's staff, Hillary Clinton has testified in person just once before Starr's Washington grand jury.

He summoned her to testify in January 1996, shortly after her long-lost Rose Law Firm billing records mysteriously surfaced in the White House residence.

Other than that occasion, prosecutors have avoided forcing the first lady to appear in person, coming to the White House four times to interview her before Saturday, most recently in January when they questioned her for just 15 minutes about the White House's improper collection of FBI files.

This was the first time, however, that prosecutors videotaped a

White House session with Hillary Clinton, according to sources, leaving them the option of playing the tape in court proceedings.

President Clinton has been interviewed on several occasions by Starr's office as well, and his videotaped testimony was played during the trial of the McDougals and Tucker in 1996.

However, unlike his wife, the president has never testified before the grand jury.

As the expiration date nears for the Little Rock grand jury, Starr has ratcheted up pressure on several witnesses, including Susan McDougal, who was called in to testify this week from a California prison and threatened with indictment for criminal contempt if she continues to refuse to answer questions.

Prosecutors also are considering whether to bring new charges against Webster Hubbell, the former associate attorney general and law firm partner of Hillary Clinton.

Saturday's interview was conducted in the Yellow Room of the White House from about 1:10 p.m. until 4:50 p.m. Starr brought with him four key lieutenants, W. Hickman Ewing Jr. and Patrick O'Brien from his Little Rock office and Robert Bittman and Solomon Wisenberg from Washington.

Accompanying the first lady were Ruff; White House deputy counsel Cheryl Mills; her chief private attorney, David Kendall; and his associate, Nicole Seligman.

Clinton, Paula Jones star at journalists' gala dinner

By MELISSA HEALY

WASHINGTON (LA Times) — In Long Beach, California, she is a shy stay-at-home mom with few friends and an unemployed husband who wants to be an actor. But at the White House Correspondents' Dinner in Washington on Saturday night, Paula Corbin Jones was the trophy guest.

Jones' sexual harassment suit against US President Bill Clinton has been dismissed by an Arkansas judge. But to Washington journalists attending their annual ritual of self-congratulation, Paula Jones is anything but a woman legally scorned.

Rather, she is the woman whose charges have dished up a year's worth of bread and butter, the woman whose case brought the American newspaper reader Monica Lewinsky, Kathleen Willey and Elizabeth Ward Grace. The woman who made oral sex a subject fit to print.

And at an event that has relied on Hollywood star power for its sizzle in recent years, Jones' presence restored the political charge to this quintessentially inside-the-beltway gala.

Even Clinton, seldom at a loss for words, acknowledged he was tongue-tied at the prospect of sitting within halting distance of Jones and her husband, Steve, who came as guests of the conservative magazine *Insight*.

Asked Friday how he would feel being in the same room with Jones, Clinton demurred, blushing and feigning befuddlement.

"You know, we practiced all kinds of answers to this question. And most of them, I think, I'll have to give Saturday night."

With 2,600 journalists and guests attending, Jones was one of the evening's most-talked-about attendees. And even in a year in which political scandal has created its own stars, there were still plenty of Hollywood emissaries. Among those invited to hobnob with journalists, generals, lawmakers and cabinet officials were Sharon Stone, Jon Bon Jovi, Michael Douglas and Warren Beatty.

But Clinton and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton were the association's putative guests of honor. Seated on a raised dais next to White House Correspondents' Association President Laurence McQuillan, Clinton dined on spicy greens, smoked duck breast and sesame noodles.

Hillary Clinton attended the dinner after spending five hours Saturday answering questions posed by investigators with independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr's office. The deposition, which focused on the Clintons' Whitewater real estate deal, took place in the White House.

Jones has said she finds it difficult to watch the president on television, because it reminds her of the day in 1991 that Clinton, who was then governor of Arkansas, allegedly dropped his pants and asked her to perform oral sex.

But on Saturday night, Jones, who was seated near the back of the cavernous hotel banquet hall,

got to see Clinton in person for the first time since she sat across from him during a lengthy deposition at a private law office near the White House. Clinton has denied Jones' charges, and did so on that occasion.

If he was unmoved by Jones' presence Saturday night, Clinton did not show it as he delivered a speech full of self-effacing one-liners and reporter-roasting ribaldry.

Indeed, although the tradition is now well-established, the scramble to host the famous and infamous is a relatively new practice for journalists attending the dinner.

By most accounts, it began in 1987, when a political reporter for *The Baltimore Sun* squirmed Fawn Hall to the annual dinner. At the time, the Reagan administration was locked in an imbroglio for secretly selling arms to Iran to try to gain freedom for hostages in Lebanon and to generate money for rebels in Nicaragua.

Hall played a bit part in the drama. The low-level White House official with a cascade of blond hair told lawmakers she had smuggled classified documents out of the executive mansion in her underwear.

Former White House intern Lewinsky, who has told friends she carried on a sexual affair with the president, also was invited to Saturday night's event. But side is chronicled by local news and tabloid television shows, declined to attend. But Ginsburg, who accepted an invitation to the dinner.



STATE OF ISRAEL

מועצת הזונות החופשיות
FREE ZONES COUNCIL

The Free Zones Council

Notification of Pre-Qualification of Applicants for Offers in a Tender for the Determination of a Concessionaire for the Planning, Establishment, Development, Operation and Management of a Free Processing Zone in Likit (Lakia), Israel (hereinafter, the "Concession")

The Free Zones Council (hereinafter, the "Council"), a corporation established pursuant to the Free Processing Zones in Israel Law, 5754-1994 (hereinafter, the "Law"), is interested in publishing a tender for the grant of a concession for a Free Processing Zone in Likit (Lakia) (hereinafter, the "Zone").

The Free Zone in Likit (Lakia) is intended to be an industrial and foreign-oriented services park which will be constructed, operated and managed at a high level of standards. This project, when completed, is expected to be a large scale project with respect to the scope of investment, the means required for its establishment, the expected area of construction and the number of employees expected to work in the Zone.

In accordance with the Law, "Zone Businesses" will enjoy a business environment devoid, to a large extent, of government involvement and bureaucratic restrictions. "Zone Businesses" will be awarded tax benefits, tax breaks and certain benefits and exemptions relating to imports and exports, foreign currency and other issues specified in the Law.

Applicants, whether individually or together with their stakeholders, either directly or indirectly, must maintain a shareholders equity or net worth of no less than US \$500 million, and must have proven capabilities in the fields of construction and real estate management of significant scope (in the vicinity of one million square meters in each field). In addition, Applicants must satisfy a number of additional requirements set out in the Law and the Pre-Qualification documents, regarding the legal identity of the Applicant and of its stakeholders and regarding the capabilities, qualifications and knowledge at their disposal for the operation, marketing and populating of the Free Zone.

During the Pre-Qualification stage, a group combined of a number of individuals and/or corporations may submit an application (hereinafter, the "Group"), so long as it fulfills the aforementioned conditions in reference to the Group, including the necessary changes outlined in the Pre-Qualification documents.

During the tender stage, the Applicant will be required to fulfil additional conditions.

The Pre-Qualification documents may be purchased at the offices of the Council at 100 Hashmonaim St., Tel Aviv, for the sum of 1,000 NIS to be paid by bankers check made to the order of the Free Zones Council. All application documents must be submitted on Thursday, June 11, 1998, between 9 am and 3 pm (Israel Standard Time).

After the selection of the Applicants, the Council will hold a closed tender among the Applicants which have passed the Pre-Qualification stage. The procedures for the tender will be established by the Council at its own discretion, and will be published with the tender documents.

Without derogating in any way from the aforementioned, the Council may act on its own discretion with any Applicant who has submitted an application during the Pre-Qualification. The Council will be allowed, inter alia, to deal with the details of the Applicant's application and request clarifications thereof, within the framework of providing equal opportunity to each of its Applicants.

In the event that only one Applicant will be deemed qualified in the Pre-Qualification stage, the Council in its own discretion will decide whether or not to pursue the tender process. The Council will also decide whether or not the Concession will be granted at all, and in which manner.

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In Haifa, the play's the thing

By HELEN KAYE

With a couple of solid hits in the last six months — *Othello* and *Ghetto* — the Haifa Theater has been patting itself on the back and is feeling confident.

"It's been interesting," says artistic director Roni Pinkowitz diplomatically of his first six months on the job.

He replaced general manager Oded Kottler after a grueling four-month search process that had the theater's board and the Haifa municipality at odds over candidates, which included actor Doron Tavori.

Pinkowitz inherited Kottler's season but recently presented his own for '98/99, which is the usual mix of world, classical and local plays — but with a difference.

Three of the season's eight new productions are "theater from the movies," as the brochure describes it.

They are Ivan Menchell's *Cemetery Club*, *Parfumerie* by Hungarian playwright Laszlo Miklos, and *To Be or Not To Be*, adapted four years ago by Pinkowitz and Avishai Milstein from the screenplay by Melchior Lengel, and the only one of the three that wasn't a play original.

Menchell's charming comedy is about three delightful middle-aged ladies who decide (eventually) that a live man is better than a dead husband any day.

Parfumerie became that little gem *The Shop Around the Corner*, in which young lovers dream and then come down to earth, while the comedy *To Be or Not To Be* pits a Polish theater group against the Nazis during World War II.

Iconoclastic UK director Steven Berkoff will return to Haifa to direct his version of *Hamlet*, and later in the season the theater will revive Berkoff's adaptation of *Metamorphosis*, first staged there in 1978.

The line-up also includes Yehoshua Sobol's *Ghetto*, which will go into its second season, and he'll premiere his new play *Home Cinema* about a man and a woman who discover, through one long night, that they don't know each other at all.

The season closes with *Walking in the Dark*, written and directed by Hanoeh Levin; *Chimps* by Simon Block; and *Borders* (Gvulot), the first play by screenwriter Shmuel Levi, about four soldiers in Lebanon with their backs to the wall in more ways than one.

Plays by young playwrights will be in the spotlight, albeit a more modest one, with first plays by authors such as Uzi Weill and Limor Nahmias, whom Pinkowitz is encouraging to adapt their works to the stage. Drama needs good language, he emphasizes. Dialect and four-letter words may make a point, but not dramatic literature.

Financially, Haifa has a balanced budget with NIS 27.7 million for 1998, of which NIS 8.7m. is earned income and approximately NIS 19m. divided equally between the Haifa municipality and the Arts and Culture Administration.

There were some 19,000 subscribers last year versus 21,000 in 1996.

Tickets for the new season went on sale earlier this week. Subscriptions range from NIS 220 to NIS 525 for a variety of packages.

Send in the pianist

By STEVE RODAN

Eric Reed is a jazz pianist who balances daring and decorum to produce some of the most exciting music today. If Errol Garner, the self-taught giant of 1950s West Coast jazz, were alive today, he'd have adopted this 27-year-old as his musical son.

This week, Reed flies to Israel for several performances in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.

Reed is a 27-year-old Philadelphia native who started playing piano at age two. By age six, he was playing along with jazz records and performing in church a year later.

Since then, he has worked with such jazz artists as Charlie Haden, Benny Carter, Ron Carter and Clark Terry.

Since 1991, he has worked with virtuoso trumpeter Wynton Marsalis. Marsalis and Reed reflect the best of contemporary jazz.

Unlike Garner, who couldn't read music, Reed studied the classics — whether Mozart, Art Tatum or Thelonius Monk. But he's also grown up in church and absorbed

Edwin Hawkins and James Cleveland. Both Reed and Marsalis brought pop music into their musical stew, as well, whether Sam Cooke or Professor Longhair. Their fabulous technique makes this unlikely amalgamation as natural as a flowing brook.

Reed, who holds drummer Art Blakey as a major influence, is both writer and interpreter. His latest CD, *Pure Imagination*, a title stemming from *Willie Wonka* and the *Chocolate Factory*, contains two originals, "Overture" and "Finale (Last Trip)."

"Overture" is slow and stately. "Finale" is driving pop. The rest of the disk is a romp through show tunes that most young artists would have deemed too square for recording.

That his technique is flawless is almost a given. But it is his tastefulness that is striking.

He shifts moods and demeanors effortlessly, from dead-serious one moment to light-hearted the next.

His playing on the *West Side Story* number "Maria" and the *King and I* tune "Hello, Young

Lovers" is both intelligent and joyous. He takes "42nd Street," from the 1980 musical of the same name, and puts it through a series of frenetic exercises worthy of Bud Powell.

Like his boss, Marsalis, Reed understands the material he plays.

"The main thing Wynton taught me is exactness," Reed says. "He has a very clear view of what he wants his music to sound like. He arranges music very systematically."

But it would be a mistake to see Reed as a Marsalis clone. His performances show a maturing artist capable of making a personal statement on a widely documented jazz tradition.

For example, Reed takes chances in "Send in the Clowns," the chestnut performed by numerous artists including Judy Collins and Sarah Vaughan.

How do you make a tune like that your own? Reed does it by changing the key, tempo, meter — everything but the beauty of the original.

"You've got to pull out your deepest eccentricities," he says. "I've certainly got quite a few, and

I've gotten to a spot where I'm not wary of them anymore. I put them in the music."

On his CD, backed by drummer Gregory Hutchinson and bassist Reginald Veal, Reed also offers the Gershwin's "Nice Work If You Can Get It" and "I Got Rhythm," the latter which, alternating between Latin and swing, stunned a packed Lincoln Center audience last fall.

"I've wanted my music to sound a certain way for a while," Reed says, "and here we figured out how to make it work. I want it to be listenable, of course. I want people to get it. But there's a way to make people get it without condescending, without making it overly simple. Go for the interesting stuff; people always dig that. They dig swing, but they like interesting sounds, too. I work toward combining the two."

Eric Reed will perform in Tel Aviv's Camelot Club May 1-5, and on May 6 at Jerusalem's Tower of David. On May 7-8, he ends his stay in Israel with performances at the Tel Aviv Museum.



Youth string quartets honor the jubilee

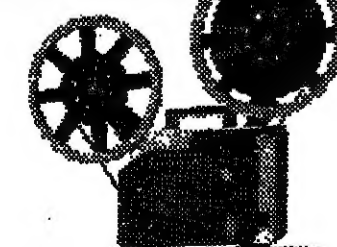
The Jerusalem Music Center celebrates the 50th anniversary of the State of Israel in a most appropriate way by heralding the finest youth string quartets in the country in a marathon of string compositions this Friday (10 a.m.-2 p.m.).

The program features music by Brahms, Debussy, Mendelssohn and Haydn, as well as Israeli composers Seter and Wiesenberg. Special string arrangements have also been adapted for twelve well-known Israeli songs, such as "Two Roses," "Shir ha'emek," "December," and "El ginat egot." The arrangements were written by local composers, among them Michael Demian, Boris Pigobat, Moshe Rasnik, Dov Carmel, Sergiu Natra and Hagar Kadima.

The 10 quartets participating in this exciting four-hour event include ensembles which operate from within the army's distinguished musicians division, such as the Jerusalem Quartet (above) and the Tel Aviv Quartet, as well as some from the Jerusalem Music Center's Young Musicians Group, and some very young quartets whose members are all under 14. (Text: Michael A. Jansz)

Taking a 'Stab' at the sequel to 'Scream'

Movie Review



By Adina Hoffman

Scream 2 is the clever, bloody sequel to clever, bloody *Scream*. Both ironic horror movies were written by Kevin Williamson and directed by Wes Craven, and both assume a vast yet shallow pop-cultural sophistication on the part of their hip young audience: the pictures are packed with references to dozens of other slasher-films and to the familiar rules of the genre.

The first *Scream*, especially, relied for its sick humor on the viewers' extensive knowledge of video-store trivia. The high-school-aged characters themselves were steeped in the very same trash folklore yet found little solace in the notion that, say, *Halloween* was "just a movie." As

they watched in giddy terror a horror flick on TV, a "real-life" killer in a spooky mask might sneak up behind and stab them — a sadistic, life-imitates-art twist that was presumably meant to fill us with giddy terror.

In *Scream 2*, the reflexive nature of the project has become a bit more organic. Williamson doesn't need to belabor his commentary on the whole horror genre as he can now make insider references to the original *Scream*. Not only does he let his characters (college students this time through) sit



College characters look at the merits and drawbacks of sequels.

SCREAM 2
★★★

Directed by Wes Craven. Screenplay by Kevin Williamson. Hebrew title: *Tzuka* 2. 120 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Children under 16 not admitted: ID will be checked.

With Neve Campbell, David Arquette, Courtney Cox, Jamie Kennedy, Laurie Metcalf, Liev Schreiber, Jerry O'Connell and others

around discussing the merits and drawbacks of sequels in general, he even restages several scenes from the first film in hyperbolic

"movie" format.

Gale Weathers (Courtney Cox), the catty tabloid reporter from the first film, has written a best-selling book about the murders in *Scream* and this, in turn, has been made into a movie-in-a-movie called *Stab*, which stars Tori Spelling (as Neve Campbell's character) and it would be the first picture). *Scream 2* opens with a sneak preview screening of *Stab*, and recreates the opening scene from *Scream*, complete with

an ingenue in a Drew Barrymore wig, alone in the house when the telephone rings...

As should be clear from this description, the single most frightening element in Craven's movie is not all the slashing and gutting that take place as a matter of course. (One of the movie-fed student-characters explains in plain terms that a sequel requires more elaborate death scenes and extra blood than an original film. Audiences expect it, he says, and

Cravens is gory as his word: *Scream 2* features several sequences that are considerably more intricate and gruesome than their counterparts in the earlier movie.) The cynicism that the film speaks to and promotes in its audience is what's really scary. The movie flatters its viewers by letting us in on the decadent joke, and acknowledging with a wink the various dramatic mechanisms at play.

That said, the film is shrewd, the script consistently amusing and the suspense sustained to the very end.

Once again, Campbell is darkly sympathetic as the heroine, and the satire of Middle-American campus life is quite cutting. To protest the film's knowingsness seems a little out of place: it's like going to see a musical and then taking offense at all that singing. (It almost goes without saying, but I'll say it anyway: *Scream 2* is indeed aimed at a young audience, but is not — I repeat not — appropriate for children. Admission is officially limited to those 16 and older, though many young kids I know have already seen and enjoyed the first film, also restricted, on video. Parents should stand warned.)

NEWS of the muse

Viennese to waltz around the country

Starting May 2 at the Jerusalem Theater, the Viennese Operetta Theater presents excerpts from everybody's favorite operettas such as *The Gypsy Baron*, *Die Fledermaus*, *The Merry Widow*, and *The Blue Danube*. The contract company comprises singers from various European opera and operetta houses, as well as a choir, a ballet and an orchestra conducted by Thomas Gabor. Stars include soprano Gisela Andrez, tenor Voitech Filip, and the comic duo of soprano Bernadette Nym and baritone Thomas Pille. The tour continues through May 14 with concerts in Tel Aviv, Haifa, Kfar Sava and Rehovot. Helen Kaye

Student film festival in Tel Aviv

The 7th International Student Film Festival gets under way at the Tel Aviv Cinematheque from June 6-13 with 160 competing films from 60 film schools in 40 countries and guest lecturers from film companies and institutions around the world, such as guest of honor and Israeli expatriate Arnon Milchan, the producer of *Pretty Woman*, and Dr. Steve Fredericks, the owner of Digital Domain, a high-tech company whose computerized special effects for *The Fifth Element* were nominated for an Oscar and who got one for *Titanic*.

The opening ceremony at the Cinematheque will celebrate Israel's jubilee and the 25th anniversary of the television and film faculty at Tel Aviv University, where the festival's closing ceremony and prize-giving will take place on June 13. Helen Kaye

Gala classical ballet benefit

The Mia Arbatova Foundation is holding a benefit gala whose proceeds will go to the fund which supplies the prize money for the biennial Mia Arbatova Ballet Competition. The gala will feature Ido Tadmor, Israel Ballet stars Mate Moray, Yael Wexler and Miki Friedmann; Talia Paz and Eitan Sibak, who dance with Sweden's Cullberg Ballet; and guest stars Chris Lerner, Ella Nagli and Jorgelina Ferrari among others.

Established in her memory by Arbatova's foremost student, Nira Paz, the competition's aim is to foster and encourage classical ballet. From 1990-95, the competition was held yearly. Since then, it has been biennial with a gala in the off year. Tickets to the event on May 9 at Tel Aviv's Suzanne Delall Center range from NIS 55-75. Helen Kaye

The Lady of the Camellias returns to the NIO

Local soprano Michal Shamir sings lovely, doomed Violetta with mezzo-soprano Hadar Halevy as her friend, Flora, in the New Israeli Opera revival of Verdi's *La Traviata* opening April 29 or April 30 at the Tel Aviv Performing Arts Center. Tenor Vicente Ombuena, who sang the Duke in last season's *Rigoletto*, sings Violetta's lover, Alfredo. The all-new production is directed by Christopher Alden, already a veteran at the NIO after *Madame Butterfly* and *Pagliacci*. Helen Kaye

Julie Andrews' favorite things

A few of Julie Andrews' favorite things are going on the auction block. The actress and her filmmaker-husband, Blake Edwards, are selling many of the baubles they've given each other. Sotheby's plans to auction the gifts on May 5.

Among the items to be sold: a Cartier watch, a diamond pendant that Edwards gave Andrews after filming the movie *10*, and a diamond ring he gave her early in their relationship. (AP)

Cruise wins award for being 'one good man'

Tom Cruise was honored recently with the John Huston Award for his advocacy of artists' rights.

The award, established by the Artists Rights Foundation in 1993 in memory of director John Huston, recognizes individuals who exhibit "courage, vision and service" on behalf of artists.

"He's handsome, he's sexy, he's young, he's rich, he's talented, he's a good father, he's a good husband, he's a good friend and he is a collaborative supporter (and) actor on the set," said Rob Reiner, who directed Cruise in *A Few Good Men*.

The honoree is selected by the foundation's board of directors, comprised of directors, actors, writers, cinematographers and others involved in filmmaking. Cruise is a trustee of the foundation, which was created in 1991 by the Directors Guild of America. This was the fifth year the award was given. (AP)

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Pulling out in good faith

Once again, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat are facing a crescendo of meetings designed to seal the unsealable deal. Here and in London, Dennis Ross, Martin Indyk, Madeleine Albright, Tony Blair, Hosni Mubarak, and Al Gore will all press their shoulders to the boulder that keeps rolling back down, in an effort to close the interim account and move on to final-status talks. But as the sounds of grinning grow increasingly loud from each side, it should not be forgotten that, in the end, both sides will have ample reason to declare victory if a deal is reached.

Though other significant matters, such as the Gaza airport, are involved, the deal essentially revolves around three parameters: the extent and quality of the second redeployment; lending meaning to reciprocity; and finessing the third redeployment.

For Netanyahu, the three elements compose an iron triangle in which each element is necessary for the others to stand. Most of the local public debate has focused on the first element, and boiled it down to specific numbers – the 9 percent decided upon by the cabinet and the 13.1 percent reportedly to be proposed by the United States during next month's London summit. Yet without the other two elements, any talk of numbers is rendered somewhat meaningless.

In the vernacular the outside world likes to use, "reciprocity" is essentially shorthand for trading bits of land for bits of peace. Israel will divide its redeployment into phases, and in each phase the PA would deliver on hitherto unfulfilled Oslo commitments critical to Israel – such as bolstering security cooperation, explicitly deleting the death-to-Israel portions of the PLO Covenant, and purifying the Palestinian media of its virulently anti-Israeli and antisemitic language. If Arafat is unwilling to accept and deliver on reciprocity, then Israel will not be able to relinquish even a single percent more of land.

It is a victory for the Netanyahu government that the US understands this, and is working with Israel in sharpening this aspect of the proposal. It is also critical for Israel that the third redeployment be nudged into the realm of that indispensable tool of diplomats, namely creative ambiguity. It may be recalled that then-

secretary of state Warren Christopher wrote in the letter attached to the Hebron Agreement that the third redeployment would occur by "mid-1998." But then the final-status talks were supposed to have started roughly two years ago.

It is not the dates but the principle that is important, and the principle was that all three redeployments occur before final-status talks begin. But now Arafat has thrown the entire concept of final-status talks in doubt with his promises to declare a state in May 1999. Why should Israel commit to further handovers under a negotiated process if the Palestinians have announced a preordained end to that process?

A third redeployment only makes sense in the context of a negotiated process, and so there is no point in Israel carrying it out before it is clear that final-status talks have not only started, but are actually headed somewhere. Netanyahu needs to be able to point to a tight linkage between the third redeployment and progress in final-status talks, while Arafat needs to be able to claim – legitimately – that the third redeployment has not been given up. Again, the current deal depends more on finding such a formula than on the exact geometry of the second redeployment.

If, however, the Palestinians do meet Israel's needs on reciprocity and the third redeployment, Israel needs to make the hard choices necessary to go beyond the proposed 9 percent withdrawal. This is not a trivial task, because with every percentage point, more settlements become isolated and the task of securing them more difficult. With the prospect of final status talks evaporating in the face of a unilateral Palestinian declaration of statehood, each supposedly interim step takes on the risk of permanence.

Despite these risks, Netanyahu could legitimately declare victory even if the percentage rises much closer to Washington's magic number 13, because most assume that the previous government would have relinquished much more territory. Arafat could declare victory, because once again he will have wrested land from a right-wing government, and taken yet another large step toward viable statehood – whether or not it is negotiated with, or recognized by, Israel.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

EXTRADITE TERRORISTS

Sir, – You recently reported the federal judge's ruling that Iran must pay punitive damages to the family of Alisa Flatow, the Brandeis University student murdered by Iranian-sponsored Palestinian Arab terrorists in 1995.

The ruling sends an important message to sponsors of terrorism that there will be consequences for their actions. At the same time, it is also important to remember that Nabil Sharabi, the terrorist who made the bomb that killed Alisa Flatow, is still living as a free man in Yasser Arafat's territory.

In July 1997, the Israeli government reported that "Nabil Sharabi, who helped prepare the bomb used in the April 1995 Kfar Darom attack in which seven Israelis and one American (Alisa Flatow) were

killed," had been briefly detained by the PA police, and then released from prison.

Alisa Flatow was one of the 10 American citizens who have been murdered by Palestinian Arab terrorists in Israel or the administered territories since the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993. Seven Arab terrorists identified by Israel as having taken part in the killings, including Sharabi, are living as free men in PA territory.

Alisa's father, Stephen Flatow, recently wrote in *The Jerusalem Post*: "If, for some reason, Arafat will not transfer Sharabi to Israel for prosecution (as is required by the Oslo Accords), then we should demand he be transferred to the US for prosecution under the provisions of the Anti-

Terrorism Act, which permits the US to prosecute an individual who murders an American abroad. Failure to pursue Sharabi and his ilk sends a message to terrorists everywhere that if they murder Americans, they will not be punished."

Stephen Flatow is right. The Clinton administration should demand that Arafat hand over the Palestinian Arab killers of Americans – just as the administration is demanding that Libya hand over the terrorists who blew up Pan Am 103.

MORTON A. KLEIN,
National President,
Zionist Organization of America

New York.

LET THEM CARE FOR THE SICK

Sir, – Regarding "Ministry ends English exams for immigrant nurses" (April 2): Is there any hospital in Israel that doesn't suffer a shortage of qualified nurses? Why should a double-standard exist for those who only wish to minister to the sick?

All new Israeli nurses are supervised, as they should be, as they

are in hospital around the world. Immigrant nurses should also be supervised, until their Hebrew is up to standard.

Let's hope Health Minister Yehoshua Matza will listen to those like Prof. Joseph Schenker, Haya Bialik and Alisa Chirnomas and reverse this insane decision, and allow those qualified nurses

into the hospitals where they belong. Taking care of the sick and injured by qualified personnel is what it's really all about, isn't it?

STAN HAYES

Nazareth Illit.

HAIFA PLEASURE

Sir, – I am writing to comment on the enjoyable concerts of the Haifa Symphonic Orchestra. This orchestra has improved so

much in the last few years, that it is a pleasure to go to the concerts. I would also like to see (and hear) the Haifa Chamber Choir joining

the orchestra, as in the past.

BATI HOLLAND

Hadera.

FROM OUR ARCHIVES

65 years ago: On April 27, 1933, *The Palestine Post* reported from Berlin that numerous clauses had been introduced in the German schools limiting the number of Jewish pupils to one and a half percent. Children of East European Jews who came to Germany after 1914 had to be expelled altogether from the high

schools. 50 years ago: On April 27, 1948, *The Palestine Post* reported that the Hagana launched a successful three-pronged attack on the Arab town of Acre that had threatened the road leading to Jewish settlements in Western Galilee. There were no Jewish casualties while all but two of the

142 Arab prisoners escaped from the local prison-fortress. 25 years ago: On April 27, 1973, *The Jerusalem Post* reported that five infiltrators who had crossed the Syrian border into Israel were captured by security forces on the Golan Heights.

Alexander Zvielli

Great success

YOSEF GOELL

As a student of comparative nationalisms let me assert, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of our independence, that Zionism has been the most impressive of the movements of national liberation of the past century and a half. Furthermore, Israel has been the most successful of the scores of new states which gained independence following World War II.

This anniversary is an apt time for introspection and contemplation of the things in which we have failed and where we took wrong turns. But the basic, awe-inspiring, success of the nation-building enterprise of the past four generations of the Jewish people cannot be denied.

This has been one of the most eventful centuries in human history. One of the most salient aspects of this period has been the by-and-large successful – and often bloody – struggle of scores and scores of peoples for independence from imperialist and colonialist rule.

I base my assertion concerning Zionism's extraordinary success on its extremely unpromising starting point. As opposed to other nationalisms which developed among indigenous populations, the Jews were not really a nation in the modern sense of the word when Zionism began, and certainly could not point to even the tiniest sliver of territory in which they constituted a majority.

Zionists were always a minority among the Jewish people of this period. The major success of Zionism is that the Jewish population of today's Israel constitutes close to half of the world's Jews and more than half of the young ones.

Zionism's phenomenal success derived from and expressed itself in three major aspects. It constituted a revolt against long-ingrained Jewish religious traditions which opposed any attempt to restore Jewish sovereignty and to integrate the Jewish people into the

modern world. One of the things that has made Israel such a phenomenally successful enterprise is that both it and the largely secular Jews of the Diaspora have been so disproportionately represented in the forefront of the modernization of the world in this century.

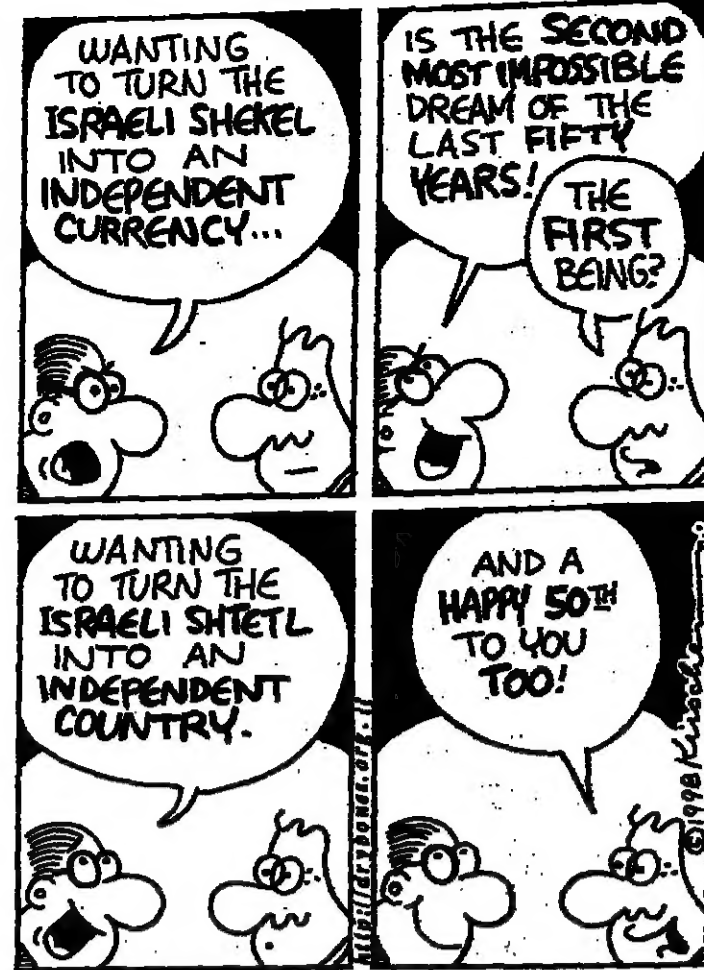
Secondly, successive generations of its mainstream leaders had the uncanny knack of knowing how to read and exploit major historical developments: the social ferment which was at the basis of the mass migration of Jews from East Europe to the West; World War I, from which it wrung the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations' commitment to a Jewish national home in Palestine; and the trauma of the Holocaust and the major shift in the locus of world power following World War II, which made it possible to realistically mount the final successful push for statehood in this country.

Thirdly, and perhaps most important of all, the Zionist message, in a half-century of competing ideologies, proved extraordinarily effective in enlisting large enough minorities of Jews – especially energetic and dedicated young Jews – into meshing their personal ambitions with Jewish national interests and goals.

ISRAEL is one of the very few new states which has never succumbed to the temptation to resort to military rule, despite the serious shortcomings of our various governments and the frustrating atmosphere of our party politics.

This is all the more remarkable given the central role of the military in our life over the past 50 years. All successful revolutions eventually run out of steam as succeeding generations lose their revolutionary zeal. Although Israel has been far more successful in staving off this decline than have other revolutionary societies of this century, such as the former Soviet Union,

Dry Bones



China and Cuba, we too, has begun to succumb to such a fate.

It has been said that for several generations Zionism served as an extremely effective mobilizing "secular religion" for the vast majority of Israeli Jews, including many among the modern Orthodox.

The gradual erosion of belief among a growing number of Israelis, and especially among its intellectual elites, in that unifying belief system, is the main problem confronting Israel at the outset of her second 50 years. The void created by that erosion has led to growing social fragmentation along ethnic, religious and economic lines.

It has also led to a new emphasis on mere personal achievements totally divorced from consideration

of their impact on the national good. This new cult of the primacy of the successful individual is based on a false presentation of Israel's early decades as an oppressive period of "bolshevism" and "socialism" which prevented most Israelis from "realizing themselves."

The great achievements of those decades and the atmosphere of self-pride which they generated are the best arguments for the thesis that the mix of personal and collective goals which informed that period was a much healthier and satisfactory one than the more recent emphasis on the cult of the successful individual, whose unavoidable corollary seems to be "and to hell with those who are left behind."

No apology required

BERNARD WASSERSTEIN

Great historical apologies are much in fashion. President Clinton has apologized for slavery. The Queen of England has expressed regret for the Amritsar massacre. The Japanese, the Austrians, even the Swiss, have been induced to express remorse for sins of commission and omission. Now, we are told, the British should confess to their crimes as rulers of Palestine between 1917 and 1948.

Yet what is the reality of the British record in Palestine? We can safely ignore the unsustainable theses endlessly propagated by mythmakers. Prime among these is the allegation that Britain betrayed the Balfour pledge to create a Jewish national "homeland," that word appears in many loudly trumpeted books, but nowhere in Mr. Balfour's declaration.

Then we have the legend of the "partition of Palestine in 1921," the reality is that Transjordan was added to the mandate, not lopped off from it.

Perhaps most insidious, since it feeds conspiracy theories about Jewish treachery, there is the notion that the first High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, a Jew, "bent over backwards to please the Arabs." Samuel, an ardent Zionist, as I showed in my biography of him, bent neither forwards nor backwards.

These old chestnuts have been cracked too often to require further refutation. Let us instead examine the big picture.

One of the accusations against the British is that they barred mass

Jewish immigration to Palestine. This is barely a half-truth. In the first years of the mandate, indeed, the contrary was true.

Moshe Mossek, director of the Israel State Archives, has shown in his study of immigration policy under Samuel that at the outset the government had much more ambi-

effectively to do so.

Similarly with another bugaboo: land sales. At first, the government placed little real restriction on Jewish land purchases. In the first decade of British rule, Jews bought several large tracts of land and the only limit on their ability to buy more was lack of cash.

The diplomatic framework for Zionist state-building from Balfour to Bevin was, in large measure, a British construct

tious plans for immigration than the Zionists.

When only a few thousand arrived in the first year, Samuel expressed deep disappointment. Restrictions on immigration were introduced at the secret behest of the Zionists: in desperate economic straits, they needed some excuse to account for their miserable failure to bring in the larger numbers they had promised.

Mass immigration arrived in the mid-1920s and again between 1932 and 1936. True, the government introduced draconian restrictions in the White Paper of May 1939, but these had only limited effect. The British could not prevent illegal immigration. The majority of arrivals during the war were illegal, not legal. Thus for most of the mandatory period the British either did not even try seriously to restrict immigration, or failed

Later the government tried to introduce restrictions, but as Kenneth Stein has shown in his book on the subject, these had only marginal effects. Even after the introduction of stringent limitations on land sales in 1940, Jewish buyers and Arab sellers resorted to collusive subterfuges that thwarted government attempts to protect sitting tenants.

What of the inglorious end of the mandate? Of this we may be certain: No other imperial power would have reacted to terrorist provocation with the kid-glove restraint manifested by Britain.

Compare the numbers of deaths inflicted by the French in Algeria or by Israel during the intifada and you have the measure of Britain's liberal imperialism.

And the supposedly antisemitic policy of Ernest Bevin? That the British foreign secretary made

uncouth remarks is undeniable. This is very shocking to strait-laced Israeli politicians in whose mouths butter would never melt.

But what counts is long-term national policy rather than personal expressions of frustration. Avi Shlaim showed in his *Collusion Across the Jordan* that, shortly before the end of the mandate, Bevin gave the green light to a deal between the Jewish Agency and the Emir Abdullah providing for the partition of Palestine between Israel and Transjordan.

That ruled out a Palestinian state in 1948. Those blinkered zealots who in 1998 inveigh against the now-inevitable creation of such a state and rant that "Jordan is Palestine" should erect a statue to their greatest ally in that cause – Ernest Bevin.

The disinterested historian, reviewing the history of the mandate, must conclude that the diplomatic framework for Zionist state-building from Balfour to Bevin was, in large measure, a British construct.

So were the opportunities for immigration and land purchase that were opened up by the mandate. So was the strategic environment – the British security system in the Middle East between 1918 and 1948.

Apologies are the tool of the propagandist, not the historian; hence the term "apologetics." But in the case of the British mandatory government and Zionism the record should be clear to all and the verdict unambiguous: No apology is required.

Reading Bibi's mind

CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

Almost 50 percent more.

Of course, I'll give more when we get to "final status" negotiations where final borders are put down, with fences, bunkers, roads, listening posts, tunnels and bridges – concrete compensation for lost defensive territory. But that's different. That's when we cut into bone. But now?

We are giving away land for nothing but promises. That's where that extra 50 percent fits really hard.

Problem is: The Americans have come out with 13.1. It's not easy to back off a number. But it's a political number. It's got to be finessed.

Everybody is still trying to figure out whether I'm ready to deal. What do you have to do to be understood around here? I did Hebron, didn't I? I'm dead serious about the nine percent or so. But I'll be damned if I'm going to deal it away for nothing.

And I'm not giving up anything unless I get three things. Arafat has to convene the PNC to change the Palestinian charter (which calls for Israel's destruction) and do something serious about the terrorists. He is now going through one of his periodic Potemkin arrest phases.

Revolving jail door: Terrorists come in the front and go out the back.

The other thing I'm holding out for is that after this lapid giveaway, Arafat has to sit down for final talks on a final deal. Most Israelis understand I'm ready to do it. The West is divided on the question. They don't get it. I'm the one, the only one to get the deal done.

Sure, I stopped Peres's crazy train of unilateral Israeli concessions. That was just common sense. He was giving away all our bargaining chips for a handshake and a smile. But I'm the one who got the Israeli Right on board the peace process. With the Hebron deal, the Israeli consensus for "territorial compromise" became national. Only question remaining is: How much territory and for what in return? I'm responsible for that change.

Not bad for two years. Sure, I made tactical errors. The first year is for making mistakes. The second year is for correcting them. But on the big picture, I delivered. The Israelis follow it. The polls show it. I'm ahead of Barak. I've captured the center and kept my Right. And that's tough for Arafat to

handle. He was waiting for the West Bank to fall in his lap. For nothing. It doesn't take a genius to figure out Arafat's strategy. He figures he has three ways to get what he wants cost-free: (1) My government falls and then Labor gives him a free pass. He knows that's not going to happen now.

(2) The Americans deliver me on a silver platter. That's what he's hoping to get out of London. But there is no way I'm going to deliver nine or whatever percent unless I get a real terrorist crackdown from Arafat and assurances from the Americans that this is my last land gift before we sit down for final talks in which the questions of Jerusalem and borders and Palestinian sovereignty are settled.

(3) Violence. He'll probably try it. But he doesn't have a lot of options. With 98 percent of his people under his rule, they can hardly rise up against the occupiers. We just aren't there anymore.

There are two or three spots where our troops are nearby or isolated. Rachel's Tomb, Hebron. That's where the stone-throwers regularly make their show. It's not for us. But it's no intifada. It's not going to work. Which leaves:

(4) He deals with me. That's the hope.

Democracy's Desert

A Rising Tide of Freedom Bypasses the Arab World

By BARBARA CRÖSSETTE

PRESIDENT CLINTON was at it again in Latin America last weekend, congratulating democratically elected leaders of countries that not long ago were better known for their dictators. Barely weeks before his visit to Chile, the President was delivering the same encouraging pat on the back to Africans. In June in China, he will no doubt be touting the virtues of democracy again, hoping Beijing will soon match its economic liberalization with more of the political kind. Just as well that the President isn't planning a trip to the Arab world any time soon. Here is perhaps the one region where the end of the cold war has brought the least progress toward democracy, and very little hope for it. Even the United States, which raises the question of democracy with great frequency elsewhere, has shied away from that in the Arab world. Its policy has remained fixated on supporting Israel, protecting access to oil and averting war. But this is an age when Latin American dictators have seemingly vanished overnight, when democracy has buried Communism in Russia and Eastern Europe, when democracy movements sprout in Africa and

Nationalist dreams and religion have been the issues, not reform.

Asia even where the cause can seem most hopeless — witness China — and when even the non-Arab Middle Eastern lands of Iran and Turkey have been fighting political battles through the medium of elections, however imperfect by Western standards.

Today, by contrast, a great many Arabs remain the subjects of kings and sheiks whose rule, even when enlightened, is always personal. And in recent decades, many others have fallen under tyrants: Muammar el-Qaddafi of Libya, Hafez al-Assad of Syria, Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Even Egypt, where political and intellectual life once flourished, has been technically under martial law for half a century. And despite the democratic longings of intellectuals in the region, the great political drama being played out across the Arab world has been something else: the battle between advocates of Islamic rule and secular rule.

Why, then, has democracy — or at least popular pressure for it — not surged across the Arab world, where one-fifth of the world's people live, in the last decade of the 20th century?

Experts hunting for an explanation look variously into history, religion, social patterns, desert expanses, a weakness for strongmen as leaders, and an obsession with opposing Zionism (now recharged by a dying Israeli-Palestinian peace process).

With a few notable exceptions, these experts explain, the Arab people have no history of democracy. Yes, they have had brushes with Western empires — notably the British and French — that left democratic institutions in their wake in other places like



Jordan's King Hussein, here reviewing an honor guard, is as liberal as any of the Arab world's leaders. But he also exemplifies the region's autocratic rule, in his case monarchy.

India, Africa and the West Indies. But for many Arabs the most sustained contact with foreign rule was the Turkish Ottoman Empire, which was emphatically not remembered for building democracy.

Fouad Ajami, a leading interpreter of the Arab world, offers an additional explanation: Rather than following political philosophies, Arabs have been more often seduced into glorious romances and reckless flings with fantasies of a greater Arab civilization. These fantasies, he says, never could deliver on what they promised.

Mr. Ajami says Arab nationalists like Nasser at first appealed to their masses with a promise to "solve the question of the place of the Arabs in the modern world." The promise was doomed to be broken, but that was not clear in the 1960's, 1970's and 1980's, when when a number of undemocratic Arab countries got rich on oil, and the workers and middle classes alike set aside dreams of reform. Then Muslim militants came along, playing on equally large-scale themes of a resurgent Arab people uniting and purifying themselves.

Edward Said, a Columbia University scholar and author who has devoted much of his career to studying the interplay between the Arabs and the West, argues that many young Arabs no longer believe in these absolutist, overarching dreams of a grandeur that replaces political life. They look to India, he said, where a fierce nationalism aroused by the independence movement adapted itself to democratic politics.

Independence came to the Arabs in different garb. "From the day the Arabs walked their way out of the wreckage of the Otto-

man Empire in the immediate aftermath of the First World War, the question that has engaged the minds of the very best and most politically conscious Arabs was nationalism," said Mr. Ajami, now director of Middle East studies at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies. "Where nationalism is the main issue, the demand for democracy always takes second place."

Mr. Said acknowledges that the world the

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Death Wish

Seeing assisted suicide with double vision.

By Sheryl Gay Stolberg

Too Sick to Die

On death row, madness saves lives.

By Sam Howe Verhovek

NATO Promises

Goal of NATO membership spurs Eastern Europe toward democracy.

By Jane Perlez

And Liberty for Some

Switching Sides on Free Speech

By NEIL A. LEWIS

WHEN a Chicago jury ruled last week that a group of abortion opponents had violated a Federal anti-racketeering statute, officials of the National Organization for Women cheered: A law intended to hobble the mafia had been used successfully to punish aggressive protesters.

But officials at another group that, like NOW, supports the abortion rights movement were dismayed. The American Civil Liberties Union had argued that using the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act, known as RICO, against abortion protesters set a dangerous precedent.

"We have always been afraid of using the racketeering law this way," said Nadine Strossen, the A.C.L.U.'s president and a professor at New York Law School. "This now could theoretically be used against any kind of protest movement."

And the penalties are harsh. The winner may collect triple the amount of actual damages from the loser.

Guessing Wrong

"The problem with RICO is that it's often hard to draw the line between acceptable protest and the kind of conspiracy which the law punishes," Ms. Strossen said. "The threat of having to pay such huge civil damages if you guess wrong as to the outer boundaries of free speech is far too harsh."

To many this is no mere intramural conflict. It is an element in a larger battle about free speech and the shape of American civil liberties doctrine at the end of the 20th century, a conflict in which liberals and conservatives, in many important ways, seem to have changed places.

Liberals, having used freedom of expression to achieve many of their goals over the last few decades, like legal equality for minorities, may no longer see the



need for free speech as much as they once did. Universities, for example, where liberals have achieved supremacy, have been hotbeds of efforts to limit free expression with codes that prohibit racist comments or speech that could be construed as offensive to some group.

At the same time, it is the corporations and the wealthy who are arguing for unrestricted use of their assets to publicly press their agendas. Steve Forbes, for one, objects to any restrictions on spending his family publishing fortune to further his Presidential ambitions. Tobacco companies insist that Congress may not restrict their freedom to advertise without running afoul of the

Times have changed. Liberals find reasons to limit civil liberties. Corporations champion free expression.

First Amendment

"I think what is happening now is part of the wheel of history turning," said Burr Neuhorne, a law professor at New York University and a former legal director of the A.C.L.U. "The fact that we've been fairly successful in the last 10 or 20 years in insuring the effective protection of speech has led some people to think they can canker with the First Amendment without risking its overall structure," he said.

Moreover, the last period of intense censorship and suppression occurred more than 40 years ago when the nation was frightened by the threat of domestic Communism. "People believe that having freedom of expression is a natural phenomenon," Mr. Neuhorne said. "It's not. It's the result of intense care and vigilance."

But Mr. Neuhorne himself embodies both sides of the debate. He is wary of tinkering with freedom of expression yet he wrote a brief in the abortion clinic case in Chicago arguing that the use of the racketeering statute was acceptable.

"I believed the use of RICO was okay because it involved an effort to curb violence against the clinics," he said. "But I understand why the A.C.L.U. and others are nervous about it."

The difficulty, of course, is allowing the Government to decide which issues are so important, so urgent, that a measured curtailment of civil liberties may be accept-

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Ideas & Trends

In Death, the Goal Is No Questions Asked

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

On the morning of Oct. 13, 1989, Elven Sinnard, the proprietor of a chain of card shops in Portland, Ore., prepared some tea and cookies for his wife of 49 years and broke a handful of sleeping pills into a glass of water for her to drink. Tired of living with heart disease, Sara Sinnard, 66, was about to kill herself.

By her husband's account, she drank the solution and, worried that he would be arrested, told him to go to work at the office. Then, in accordance with instructions from the Hemlock Society, the right-to-die group, she secured a plastic garbage bag over her head and suffocated.

When he came home, Mr. Sinnard called the funeral director, who called the coroner, who called the police. Detectives confiscated the pills, the bag and Mrs. Sinnard's goodbye notes, and promptly hauled Mr. Sinnard in for questioning.

The 81-year-old Mr. Sinnard, who later worked to make assisted suicide legal in Oregon last year, recalled the encounter: "They said, 'Elven, if we could tie you directly to placing the bag on her we would have to send you to jail.'"

Scrutiny

That Mr. Sinnard found himself a criminal suspect is no surprise. "Society takes death very seriously," said Dr. Steven Miles, an expert in end-of-life care at the University of Minnesota. "A death is either straightforward or it's not. And if it's not, the authorities will take a careful look at it."

This was the obvious lesson learned last week by Paul McCartney in the wake of the death of his wife, Linda, from breast cancer. Apparently in a ruse to protect the couple's privacy, a family spokesman asserted falsely to reporters that Mrs. McCartney had died in Santa Barbara, Calif. But death certificates are a matter of public record in California, and when none was recorded, the local sheriff's department launched an investigation. Rumors of an assisted suicide, denied by Mr. McCartney, began to swirl. It now appears that Mrs. McCartney died in Arizona, where death certificates are not public.

The legal requirement to document death is not trivial, and it is one reason doctors are so reluctant to participate in assisted suicide, as a study published in the New England Journal of Medicine reported last week.

"Attention, attention must be finally paid," the wife of the dying Willy Loman declared in the famous line from "Death of a Salesman." When someone dies, families and communities demand an accounting, particularly if the deceased is a celebrity.



Paul and Linda McCartney: assisted suicide or not, her death aroused scrutiny.

Roughly 2.4 million Americans die each year, and each death must be certified by either a doctor or a medical examiner. Most are routine.

The Oregon Protocol

But if someone dies at home and no doctor steps forward to sign the death certificate, Dr. Miles said, suspicion will inevitably arise. To pre-empt scrutiny, some jurisdictions now permit doctors to "pre-register deaths," by telling the coroner that a seriously ill patient will die soon.

"That prevents the family from being traumatized by having an expected death turn into a crime scene," Dr. Miles said.

Oregon's assisted-suicide experiment has a complex legal protocol. Doctors are required to notify the state Health Division when they write prescriptions for lethal drugs. The state

suggests writing on the death certificate, "drug self-administered, legally prescribed," as the cause of death. But advocates for the right to die advise against this, saying the kind of people who review death certificates — bankers, insurance agents, reporters and the like — have no business knowing whether someone took his or her own life.

Either way, state officials who receive notice of a lethal prescription then monitor death certificates until the patient's name turns up. A match prompts a phone call to the doctor, to confirm that the patient took the drugs.

Most doctors are reluctant to help patients kill themselves, according to the New England Journal study, a national survey of 1,502 physicians who care for the dying. Slightly more than 3 percent said they had "never" written a prescription for lethal drugs, and just under 5 percent had administered lethal

injections, mostly to patients on their deathbeds. The law is a big barrier: 36 percent of the doctors said they would write lethal prescriptions if they were legal, and 24 percent said they would deliver injections if they were.

Doctors who do so despite the law must "be willing to tell a half-truth" on the death certificate, said Dr. Timothy Quill, the Rochester, N.Y., physician whose published account of writing a lethal prescription for a patient sparked intense debate — as well as a criminal inquiry — in 1991. No charges were brought.

Ambivalence

That outcome, experts say, is common, and it illustrates society's conflicted feelings about assisted suicide. While the public may want an accounting, it does not necessarily want to hold anyone accountable.

The police who questioned Mr. Sinnard were "very courteous," he said. In Rochester, the authorities did not even bother to seize Dr. Quill's medical records.

"I think they, like me, wanted it to go away," the doctor said.

Even Dr. Jack Keivorkian, the Michigan pathologist who has helped dozens of people commit suicide, has never been convicted, despite four trials.

David J. Garrow, a historian at Emory University, said that on the rare occasion when punishment is meted out, it is "about as gentle a slap on the wrist as you can give." Such was the case with an Oregon doctor who gave a patient a lethal injection, a practice the new law does not permit. His license was revoked for 60 days last year.

Still, Dr. Quill said, doctors suffer "on the way to not being prosecuted," and those who write lethal prescriptions often take pains not to learn if their patients take the drugs.

Dr. Lonny Shavelson, a Berkeley, Calif., physician who witnessed half a dozen assisted suicides in writing his book "A Chosen Death" (Simon & Schuster, 1995), recounts one such case, that of a 64-year-old woman, Mary Bowen Hall. Her doctor, whom Dr. Shavelson declined to name, prescribed 30 barbiturates with "a wink and nod," but never asked if she planned to use them. Mrs. Hall gulped the pills in her hospital room while her family stood in the hallway to prevent the nurses from wandering in. Dr. Shavelson was the only witness.

"It looked very much like she had a natural death," Dr. Shavelson said in an interview. "The nurses came in afterward and talked about how peaceful her death was. It was almost funny. They were all talking about how well she died. The physician never knew about it. The death certificate read 'breast cancer.'"

Due Processor

Hey! Computers Go Faster Than the Courts.

By STEVE LOHR

EVEN the Justice Department acknowledges that its current antitrust case against the Microsoft Corporation may be outdated.

In a hearing before a Federal appeals court in Washington last week, Judge Patricia M. Wald asked whether the case was not about to be overrun by time and Microsoft's new products — or, as she put it, "lost in a time warp."

A. Douglas Melamed, the principal Deputy Assistant Attorney General in the Justice Department's antitrust division, candidly replied, "We don't know."

The exchange neatly captured the daunting challenge for antitrust policy in the digital age. Business tactics that seemed questionable, even incriminating, yesterday can be rendered irrelevant tomorrow by the rapid pace of technological change.

That certainly seems to be the lesson being learned in the Government's marathon pursuit of Microsoft. In the current case, the Justice Department sued the company last October for allegedly violating its consent decree with the Government by forcing personal computer makers to load its Internet browsing program as a condition of licensing Microsoft's industry-standard Windows operating system.

Internet software and commerce, in truth, were not the focus of the consent decree, which was signed by Microsoft and the Justice Department in 1994 and approved by a Federal court in 1995. The pact was mainly intended to keep the door open for rivals in the market for personal computer operating systems, or the software that serves as a computer's central nervous system.

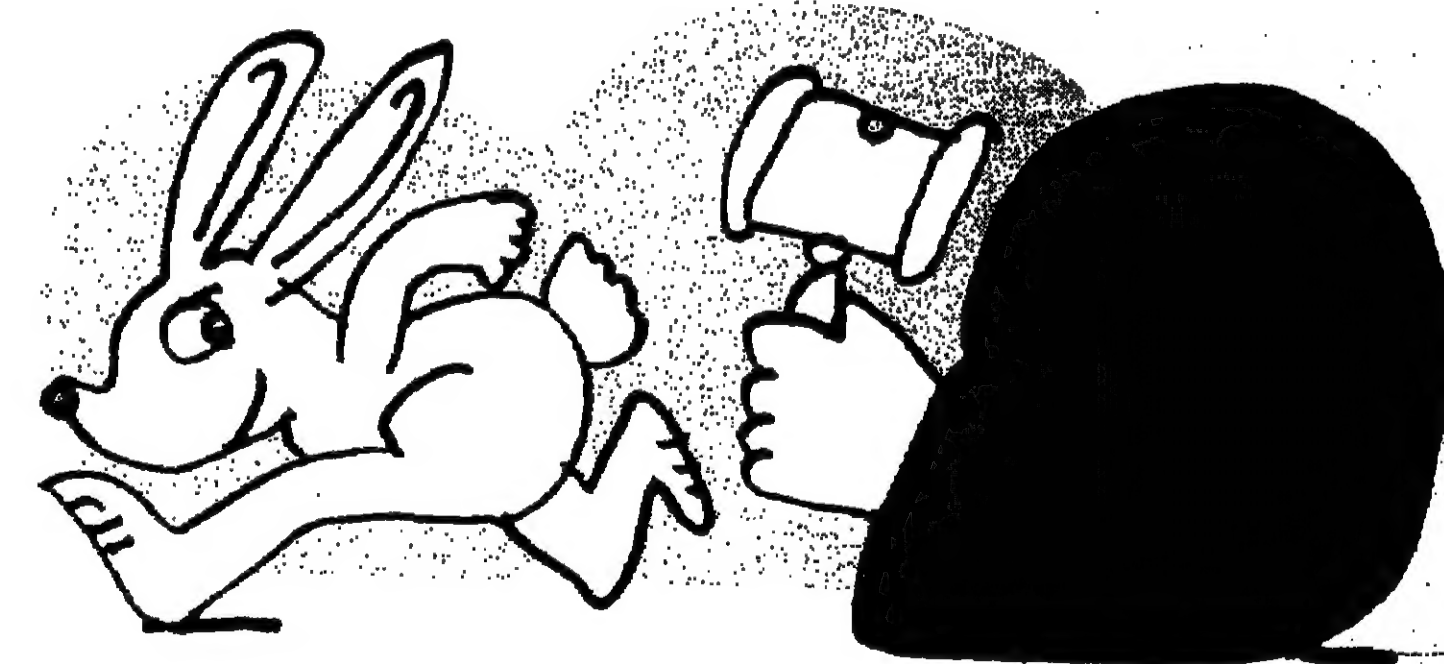
Too Late

By the time the consent decree had been negotiated, however, the competition in the operating system market was effectively over: today Windows runs on roughly 95 percent of new PCs.

Robert E. Hall, a Stanford economist who advised the Justice Department on the consent decree, believes the curbs on Microsoft's marketing practices were good policy, but simply too late. "To really have fostered and protected competition in operating system market," he said, "it should have been signed in 1985 instead of 1994."

The current team at the Justice Department's antitrust division, led by Assistant Attorney General Joel I. Klein, inherited the consent decree. They understand the necessity of fleet-footed enforcement in high-technology markets.

In a policy speech last month, Daniel L. Rubinfeld, chief economist of the antitrust



division, observed that once the Government decides to take action it is "important to move early and quickly."

In Washington and throughout the computer industry, attention is now focused on what action, if any, the Justice Department will take before Microsoft's next-generation operating system, Windows 98, is released to personal computer makers on May 15 and goes on sale in retail stores in June.

Once again, it's a case of technology overtaking the other issues in a suit over competition.

Windows 98 seamlessly meshes Internet browsing with the operating system. So the consent decree case now seems a "tempest in a teapot" as the Government scrutinizes a wider set of issues, said Carl Shapiro, a professor at the University of California at Berkeley and a Justice Department official.

This time, the Department is not worried about how Microsoft has obtained its dominant position in the operating system market. Its main concern is whether the company is

using its control of the computer desktop to give it an unfair advantage in the nascent but fast-growing markets for Internet software and on-line commerce.

If the Justice Department decides to move, it could try to prohibit certain Microsoft business practices through a new consent decree or a broader antitrust case under the Sherman Act of 1890, which makes it illegal for a monopolist to use its market power to protect and expand its monopoly.

Looking toward a new antitrust case, the Government has been conducting an accelerated investigation since the start of the year.

In the last three weeks, the Government has issued new rounds of civil subpoenas to personal computer makers and taken new depositions from Microsoft. They are closely examining Microsoft's licensing contracts and its joint marketing agreements with PC makers, software makers and companies that run Internet Web sites for entertainment, news, travel services and on-line shopping.

Antitrust may be a turn-of-the-century doctrine, but the Government has dealt with issues remarkably similar to the ones posed by Microsoft in the not-too-distant past.

Take the claim that because Microsoft controls the first screen that people see when they turn on their computers, its Windows operating system is an "essential facility" for any company trying to do on-line commerce.

Owning that gateway to the Internet becomes intriguing to antitrust officials if Microsoft uses it to give an edge to its own

Internet services.

Microsoft, for example, has given a favored place on the desktop to its World Wide Web travel service, Expedia — an opportunity that the rival Travelocity service, run by the Sabre Group, says it was denied.

Sabre has first-hand experience with such matters, since 15 years ago it was in Microsoft's shoes.

Flight Simulator

Sabre is the computerized reservation system started by American Airlines. In the early 1980's, Sabre came under fire from rival airlines and Washington just as Microsoft is today, in a policy debate over computer screens and who determines the prime slots on that vital piece of information-age real estate.

Sabre put its computer terminals on the desks of thousands of travel agents and displayed its flights at the top of those screens — a huge advantage because 90 percent of all bookings were made from the first screen.

American's rivals took their complaints to Washington. The Justice Department investigated. Congress held hearings. Eventually, the Civil Aeronautics Board issued rules saying flights on the reservations systems had to be listed by impartial criteria like time of departure or ticket price.

"We were certainly singing a different tune back then," said Bruce Charendoff, executive director of government affairs for Sabre. "The common issue in both cases is market power. As history has shown, if you have it, you use it — unless you're restrained."

Crime's Newest Cash of Choice

By SYLVIA NASAR

THE potential challenge that Europe's new single currency poses to the dollar's dominance of global trade and bond portfolios has been widely anticipated. Largely overlooked, however, is another threat: The Euro may edge out the dollar as the currency of choice in the world's huge underground economy — and in the process end a highly profitable American monopoly.

The threat comes from a seemingly innocuous, little-noted decision by the European Monetary Institute to issue the Euro in some very large denominations, including 100, 200 and 500 Euro notes — equivalent to \$110, \$220 and \$500 bills at the expected rate of exchange.

These denominations are intended to mirror those of the German mark and thus make the new currency seem reassuringly familiar to those with doubts about monetary union.

But the big bills, says Kenneth Rogoff, an economist at Princeton University, will also have the presumably unintended consequence of offering Colombian drug lords, New York mafia bosses and Russian gangsters — as well as garden-variety tax dodgers — a superior vehicle for doing business and hoarding their ill-gotten gains.

"Giant bills will help the Euro-



peans compete with the United States for these 'customers,'" says Mr. Rogoff. "We have these crummy \$100 bills and they're going to have a \$500 bill. You'll be able to smuggle a million in or out of the country in a purse instead of a suitcase."

Economists once believed that just 10 percent of all currency in circulation was tied up in the underground economy. Now it turns out that 80 percent is closer to the mark. Most of it is in \$100 bills, which are the largest available and now account for well over half the value of the nation's paper money.

American banks and businesses hold very little cash. American households are also loath to keep much of it lying around. Yet according to the Federal Reserve there is enough currency floating around to make it appear that every American family of four has \$6,000 or so in cash stashed under the mattress, including three dozen \$100 bills. And despite the ubiquity of credit cards, A.T.M.'s and electronic transfers, the sea of cash has been growing much faster than the nation's gross national product.

As the issuer of dollars, America has been making out like a proverbial bandit. Having customers who want to hold your currency is like being able to get an interest-free



loan. Economists call this seigniorage, a medieval French term related to droit du seigneur, or lord's rights; in this case it refers to the right to coin money. With \$400 billion of its currency in circulation, the United States Government is earning \$29 billion a year, or the amount the Government would have to pay if all that currency had to be replaced with Treasury bonds paying 7 percent interest.

Criminals prefer cash for the obvious reasons: it is anonymous, portable and easy to hide. For the same reasons, they prefer bigger bills to smaller ones. Until now, they have had an overwhelming penchant for dollars because there are so many of them; they are convertible anywhere and they are, relatively speaking, inflation-proof. But faced with the choice of an even better product, the Euro, criminals may well switch. And without the seigniorage from the underground economy, the United States would see a dramatic decline in revenue.

But perhaps the underground economy is one market the United States would do well to cede to a foreign rival.

The Nation

Halt the Execution? Are You Crazy?

By SAM HOWE VERHOVEK

AT a hearing in an Arkansas courtroom last week, Charles Singleton basically argued for the right to make a choice: his sanity or his life.

Mr. Singleton, 38, on death row for the 1979 murder of a grocer named Mary Lou York, is on anti-schizophrenia medication, which, the state argues, makes him mentally competent enough to be executed. But Mr. Singleton wants to stop taking the drugs, which could well make him sufficiently delusional that state psychologists would not certify him as ready to be put to death.

"We have to convince the court that you can't involuntarily medicate to competency if that is what is making him executable," explains Mr. Singleton's lawyer, Jeff Rosenzweig.

While Mr. Singleton's case is a particularly complex legal matter, it is also part of a much broader debate hashed out in courtrooms across the nation: when is a convicted murderer so mentally deficient that he or she earns the right to be spared execution?

The question is not so much whether society should execute people who are insane, since the United States Supreme Court has firmly ruled, and even staunch death-penalty proponents generally say they agree, that people who are truly mentally incompetent should not be put to death.

You can't execute the insane. But defining insanity is the rub.

Rather, it is how competence should be determined.

Many supporters of capital punishment insist that the number of death-row inmates who are so mentally impaired that they should not be executed is exceedingly small. And they are clearly unimpressed with Mr. Singleton's arguments, and similar ones being made by at least two condemned men in Texas.

"They're sane enough to know that by stopping their medication, they will not be executed," said Dudley Sharp, vice president of Justice for All, a Texas-based victims' rights group that strongly supports

Too Sick to Die. Not Good Enough to Live.



HORACE KELLY



KARLA FAYE TUCKER

Officials in California are mulling the fate of Horace Kelly, who claims he is too insane to be executed for killing an 11-year-old boy in 1984. (He currently refuses to be photographed.) In February, Karla Faye Tucker was executed in Texas for killing two people with a pickaxe in 1953 despite requests for clemency on the basis of her conversion to Christianity. Both cases raise questions about the ethics of executing people whose mental state has changed since they were convicted and sentenced.

the death penalty. "Is that the reasoning of a sane man or an insane man? It sounds very sane to me."

The legal dockets are full of cases in which lawyers for the condemned argue that their clients aren't fit to die; most such appeals get tossed out, in large part because the jury that sentenced the prisoner to death determined that he or she was not insane, at least at the time of the murder. But what about cases in which a murderer's mental health declines after his sentencing?

That is the primary issue in an extremely unusual hearing now under way in California involving 39-year-old Horace Kelly, a man who often sits in his own waste in his cell and who says he believes that death row is a vocational school. Mr. Kelly was sentenced to death years ago for fatally shooting two women and an 11-year-old boy in 1984. Now, though, a new 12-member jury is being convened to decide whether Mr. Kelly has become too incompetent since the time of his sentencing to be executed.

If the jury rules that Mr. Kelly is incompetent, thus sparing his life, at least for the time being, state officials want to send him to a prison mental hospital for treatment. They hope in such a circumstance to improve his condition enough to execute him, a policy that the American Medical Association opposes.

And, in another twist, some lawyers in capital cases have seized on statements by their clients who say they wish to die: Isn't that sentiment itself a sign of incompetence? Take the case of Wilford Lee Berry Jr., an Ohio death-row inmate who has been called "The Volunteer" because of his stated wish that he be put to death as sentenced, and thus become the first person executed in that state in 35 years.

Political Decisions

This month a Federal judge continued a stay of the execution pending a competency hearing for Mr. Berry, 35, who was convicted of killing his boss, a Cleveland baker, in 1989. Citing in part his stated wish to die, Mr. Berry's mother and sister have petitioned to file a challenge to his death sentence.

Two state-certified psychiatrists have said that although Mr. Berry suffers from several personality disorders, he is competent to be executed, while a third psychologist who examined him said he was incompetent.

Another case involves Gary Heidnik, a Pennsylvania death-row inmate convicted in a horrendous case of torture-murder in the basement of his home, in which he cut up the body of one of his female captives with an electric saw, cooked her head and fed her flesh to another captive. He has been diag-

nosed as a paranoid schizophrenic, and his execution has been repeatedly put off pending a ruling on his mental status.

In 1986, the Supreme Court, in a 5-4 decision, ruled that executing the mentally incompetent violated the Constitution's ban on cruel and unusual punishment. Richard C. Dieter, executive director of the Death Penalty Information Center, a group that opposes capital punishment, said the standard was a sound moral one.

"There is no message of justice sent to just inflict pointless punishment on someone who doesn't know what's happening," he said.

But Mr. Dieter and other advocates argue that with decisions on competence generally left up to judges and Governors who believe themselves to be under enormous public pressure to enforce the death penalty, there are many cases in which people who are not competent are put to death.

In one of the most controversial cases involving questions of competence, then-Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas left the Presidential campaign trail in 1992 to fly home for the execution of Ricky Ray Rector, a murderer who had blown away part of his brain in a suicide attempt just after he shot and killed a police officer. Mr. Rector was so brain-damaged, his lawyers said, that he asked that his dessert of pecan pie be put aside for him to eat as a snack after his execution. Mr. Clin-

ton rejected his final clemency appeal.

The question of competency is, of course, hardly the only one involving a judgment on the state of mind of a killer.

The controversy that raged earlier this year over Texas's execution of Karla Faye Tucker went to the heart of the question of whether a killer can be so rehabilitated on death row that he or she earns the right to be spared execution.

Last Resorts

In yet one more legal tangle surrounding the question of fitness to face the death penalty, some condemned inmates have sought another way out.

They have attempted to injure themselves just before their executions, thus putting themselves in the hospital and, perhaps, securing a doctor's opinion that they are not well enough to be wheeled onto the death-chamber gurney.

Last spring in Texas, 39-year-old David Lee Herman managed to break apart a prison-issue razor and slash his throat and wrist two days before his execution. He was so cut up that he was sent to an infirmary; but there, state doctors managed to stitch him up so he could be put to death as scheduled.

Do as We Say, Not as We Do

U.S. Executions Draw Scorn from Abroad

By DAVID STOUT

THERE was hate in the air when protesters gathered in front of the United States embassy in Tegucigalpa on Wednesday. Honduran police armed with riot shields, clubs, tear gas and dogs were assigned to protect the building.

"The police have noticed widespread ill feeling," Capt. Hector Mejia said. "We fear there will be aggression toward the embassy or personnel."

A day earlier, Paraguayans marching in a funeral procession in Asunción stood in the rain in front of the American Embassy for a three-minute silent protest.

The demonstrations were prompted by an issue that is increasingly dividing the United States from many other countries: capital punishment. The anger in Tegucigalpa and Asunción was over the executions of a Honduran in Arizona and a Paraguayan in Virginia, the latest in a string of executions of foreigners in the United States.

The executions in Virginia and Arizona came days after the United States was accused, in a report to the Geneva meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, of unfair, arbitrary and racist use of the death penalty.

It is impossible to gauge whether the anger abroad over the rising number of executions in States is fueled by grief or a deep-rooted set United States is hypocritical, or both. In fact, before Rwanda publicly executed a woman on Friday, the United States has officials there to delay the executions until were exhausted.

Tainted Cases

A State Department official, who spoke of anonymity, acknowledged, as the Depa that the cases of Jose Roberto Villafuerte and Angel Francisco Breard in Virginia were violations of the defendants' rights under an international pact that the United States has signed. The official works for a unit that helps Americans who are arrested in other countries (about 3,000 a year), and has seen the squalor of foreign prisons.

The Vienna Convention on Consular Relations of 1963 requires that people arrested in a foreign country be advised of their right to contact officials of their own consulate within a short time.

Mr. Villafuerte was not told of this right when he was arrested in Arizona in 1983 for killing his girlfriend. And Mr. Breard was not so advised when he was arrested in 1992 for killing a woman after trying to rape her in her Arlington, Va., apartment.

Mr. Villafuerte said he was innocent but had been unable to defend himself because he spoke no English. His execution was front-page news in Honduras. "The most powerful country in the world, which claims to be a stickler for justice and legal rectitude, has violated its own precepts," a Honduran newspaper declared.

Mr. Breard never denied the killing. But his supporters argued that, had he been able to talk to Paraguayan consular officials at once, he might have saved himself. Against his lawyers' advice, he rejected a plea bargain that would have given him a life sentence, and



led with the execution of Jose Roberto Villafuerte in Arizona last week.

impressed.

His execution drew protests not only from Paraguay but also from Argentina, where he was born. "We accompany Angel Breard's family and friends in their sorrow," the Argentine Embassy in Washington said.

In the aftermath of the Villafuerte and Breard cases, the State Department has renewed its efforts to make sure that police officers in the United States become as familiar with the Vienna Convention as they are with the Miranda warning.

But that will not end the hard feelings. Many countries (including some where police behavior, prison conditions and respect for human rights fall short of American ideals) have renounced the death penalty. They deplore its use in the United States, against foreigners or Americans, regardless of whether all the legal niceties are observed.

In late 1996, Pope John Paul II and the Government of Italy asked Virginia not to execute Roger O'Dell 34, who had publicized his case on the Internet and contended that D.N.A. testing offered new evidence that he was innocent of a rape slaying. Virginia executed him anyway.

Relations between the United States and Mexico, which like many Latin American countries has no death

penalty except for war crimes like treason, have been frayed because Texas has executed two Mexicans in recent months. Further friction is inevitable. About a dozen Mexicans are on death row in Texas.

Conscientious About Americans

Police corruption is widely acknowledged to be far more prevalent in Mexico than in the United States. Mexican prisons, like those in many Central and South American countries, are hell holes by American standards, the State Department official said. But Mexico has been conscientious about notifying the United States when Americans get in trouble, the official said. About 400 Americans are imprisoned in Mexico, more than in any other foreign country.

Since 38 states have a death penalty, and some use it frequently, resentment toward the United States is likely to grow. The State Department worries that further violations of the Vienna Convention could bring retaliation against Americans abroad.

"We have to bear in mind, in many parts of the world, the justice systems are rather fragmentary and unfair on many occasions," James P. Rubin, the State Department spokesman, said a week ago.

One of his aides put it more bluntly: "People can get swallowed up."

A Switch On Speech

Continued from Page 9

able. That's what occurred during World War II when Japanese-Americans were interned, and what happened during the Communist scare of the 1950's, both actions now widely believed to have been excessive.

Professor Cass Sunstein of the University of Chicago Law School is a leader in advocating the notion that it is possible to carve out exceptions to traditional ideas about free speech without harming the basic principles of civil liberties.

"Just invoking the First Amendment often has the effect of ending debate about policy questions which are real and are difficult," he said. In many instances, he argued, there should be a balancing between freedom of expression and greater benefits for the community.

That conflict is at the center of the movement to prohibit cigarette advertising as part of a nationwide settlement in which the tobacco industry would be given immunity from lawsuits brought by smokers.

A similar conflict underlies a new debate over whether the Supreme Court should reverse itself and allow more restrictions on campaign spending. Again it is largely liberals who argue against the Court's 1976 opinion in Buckley v. Valeo, which relied on a free-speech argument to throw out some spending restrictions. They say the decision allowed corporations to use their wealth to dominate the political process.

Mr. Neuborne, the former A.C.L.U. official, said he is a pragmatist on the issue. He believes that additional restrictions on large political donations are troubling. But, he said, "campaign finance is in such a crisis, it's worth the risk."

Attacking Incivility

The other great influence in the debate over civil liberties at the end of the century, many feel, is a growing public intolerance for the incivility of modern life.

Professor William Van Alstyne of the Duke University Law School said in an interview that there is a troubling willingness to suppress civil liberties deemed destructive to community values.

"This is occurring not just in the free speech area, but in the growth of variations on Megan's law," the notion that a neighborhood should be informed if a sex offender moves in.

Delaware recently enacted a law requiring sex offenders to be so identified on their driver's licenses. "All of this means that society believes it's acceptable to treat such people as so beyond the pale, they have no right to live undisturbed," he lamented.

And the United States Court of Appeals in San Francisco is expected to rule soon on a case involving an extension of Federal child pornography laws. Courts have previously upheld laws prohibiting the possession of child pornography on the basis that it provided a market that exploits children.

But the amendment goes further by prohibiting the possession of computer-generated sexual images of children, that is, not even real children.

To Professor Van Alstyne this is unthinkable suppression. To Professor Sunstein, it's just fine.

The World

With Promises, Promises, NATO Moves the East

By JANE PERLEZ

IN the United States, the question of whether to expand NATO eastward has been debated only in fits and starts, and then most passionately on the issues of how the Russians feel about it and whether it might cost too much.

But another question figures in the debate too: What effect has the lure of NATO membership had on the way the proposed new members — Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic — govern themselves and behave toward their neighbors after nearly half a century under Communism?

No one of these questions alone will decide the debate, which the Senate is scheduled to resume on Monday. Opponents of the Clinton Administration's proposal to expand NATO will doubtless emphasize the questions of money, Russia, and how many other new members this precedent will open the door to.

Still, it is on the question of how the prospective members are behaving that some of the hardest evidence is in, and it adds up to this:

Agreement on a Goal

While all three have a way to go on meeting Western standards of democratic rule and stable market economies, no issue has dominated the internal political behavior of the three Central European countries as much as the aspiration to belong to the Western security alliance.

In all three prospective new members, former Communists and anti-Communists alike have agreed on NATO membership as a national goal, and as a result all have tried with varying degrees of sincerity to meet the alliance's broad requirements of democratic rule and free enterprise.

In other words, the promise of inclusion in NATO has helped the cause of moderate government during a tough

period of economic and political transition. And there is little doubt, analysts say, that trying to lay the political groundwork to satisfy NATO has left Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic better positioned for sustained economic growth.

Such growth, in turn, could also help these countries join the European Union — another goal they share, and

For former Soviet satellites, just the hope of inclusion has brought moderation.

one they are pursuing in negotiations that opened in Brussels last month and that promise to be tough.

One lesson clearly taken to heart by Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary was the elimination of Slovakia from the list of potential NATO members after its Prime Minister, Vladimir Meciar, became increasingly authoritarian. Similarly, the European Union has cited Slovakia's lack of democratic progress as a reason for its exclusion from the first round of the economic union's eastward expansion.

The new American Ambassador to Poland, Daniel Fried, who helped formulate the arguments for expanding NATO when he worked at the National Security Council before coming to Warsaw last fall, likes to point to the way the three countries have behaved toward each other. "When Poland and Hungary became more confident of their NATO membership," he said, "they increased their outreach to their neighbors — Hungary to Romania, and Poland to Lithuania."

A decade ago, when the Soviet hold on Eastern Europe was evaporating, one worry for NATO was that



Polish soldiers, left, built a pontoon bridge with their German counterparts over the river Oder in 1996.

old national resentments would resurface in the form of border disputes and mistreatment of minorities, creating instability in the region. So when NATO decided it might enlarge, it made it clear that aspirants to membership had to avoid that kind of thing.

Now Hungary and Romania have signed a treaty guaranteeing each other's borders and respecting the right of the large Hungarian minority in Romania. And tense relations between Poland and Lithuania have improved to the point that they have created a joint peacekeeping battalion.

Another benchmark set down by NATO, and in particular by the Pentagon, was that the military in new members had to be subordinate to civilian control. This was a prickly subject in Poland, where former President Lech Walesa wanted to keep broad authority in the hands of his generals. Only since the defeat of Mr. Walesa in elections in 1995 and the adoption of a new Constitution calling for subordination of the general staff to the Minister of Defense has the strong political influence of the Polish military brass diminished.

Changes in the Brass

Last year, to the relief of the Pentagon, President Kwasniewski fired Gen. Tadeusz Wilecki, a Walesa appointee, who had shown open contempt for the civilians at the defense ministry.

Now Henry Szumski, a younger general who has United Nations field experience, is at the top, and Janusz Onyszkiewicz, an ardent proponent of civilian control of the military, is defense minister. NATO specialists say they are satisfied that the Polish military is on the right track, but another challenge remains: to clear out many of the Communist-era holdovers in the military intelligence service.

In another example of changing attitudes, the Hungarian Government passed over Soviet-trained generals for the post of chief of the general staff and reached down

to the third level of the military hierarchy for Lieut. Gen. Ferenc Vegh, an English-speaking graduate of the United States Army War College. Now 7 of the top 10 generals in Hungary are Western trained.

Last month, the Czechs appointed a new chief of the general staff, Jiri Sedivy, 45, who stands out for his experience as a battalion commander in Bosnia and for his choice of military heroes: Eisenhower, Patton and Schwarzkopf.

Along with elevating military officers who think like those in the West, the three countries have been encouraged by NATO to get serious about parliamentary oversight committees. On this point, they still have a long way to go; the defense committee in the lower house of Poland's Parliament has no staff, and the enthusiastic members of Hungary's parliamentary defense committee have little background in military affairs.

No one would argue that Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic are mature democracies with classic capitalist economies. Progress toward the rule of law and the protection of minority rights is far from perfect. In all three countries, the judicial systems are fragile and financial corruption widespread. There are still huge disparities in terms of wealth between the European Union and its prospective new eastern members.

But Marek Matraszek, the Warsaw director of CEC Government Relations, a political consulting firm that has worked on NATO related issues, believes that without the prospect of membership in NATO, Poland might easily have fallen under the sway of nationalist and populist politicians. Now it seems reasonable to believe that Poland, a land with 40 million people and a bounding economy growing at six percent a year, may reach its goal of being a middle-size Western European power within the next decade.

"The promise of NATO has defused destabilizing forces from the left and right," Mr. Matraszek said. "If NATO had not been offered, Poland could have been in a disastrous situation, externally and internally."



President Clinton was greeted by Polish dignitaries last summer during a visit to Radziwill Palace in Warsaw.

The Mayor and the Mullahs

The Mouths That Roared in Iran

By ELAINE SCIOLINO

IRAN hasn't been quite the same since the popular Mayor of Teheran was thrown into prison on April 4 on charges of embezzlement and corruption that many Iranians believe are politically motivated. The arrest of the Mayor, Gholam Hussein Karbaschi, unleashed a storm of debate in the press not seen since the early days of the Islamic revolution that overthrew Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi in 1979. The public furor reflected the more open political atmosphere ushered in with the election last May of President Mohammed Khatami, an ally of the Mayor.

After thousands of student demonstrators clashed with riot police, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, Iran's powerful spiritual leader and a frequent adversary of the President, felt he had to intervene, giving in to those who challenged the Mayor's detention. On April 15, Mr. Karbaschi was released from Evin Prison (the same jail where he had been detained under the Shah) and went back to work. A trial date has not yet been set. But resentment lingers. The following sampling of public comment on the affair suggests the potential for popular unrest accompanying Iran's experiment with openness.

Interior Minister Abdullah Noori complained that he hadn't been informed in advance of the arrest, which was ordered by Ayatollah Mohammed Yazdi, the head of the judiciary and a strong supporter of Ayatollah Khamenei.

"When the Mayor of Teheran, who is a member of the Cabinet, is arrested without informing the Interior Minister or even the President and some public media resort to rumor-mongering, when the Mayor, with all his experience is prevented from having any visitors and an arrest warrant that is totally inconsistent with the charges is issued for him, when propaganda campaigns against the Mayor and his colleagues are launched for several consecutive months from every side and he remains silent, like a wronged person, in the interest of the state, what hope can an ordinary citizen have that the law will defend his rights?" — April 7

But Mohammed-Reza Bahonar, a member of Parliament from Teheran, said no one is above the law:

"We should try to insure that the law is implemented fairly in the case of everyone. The Mayor of Teheran is not an exception to this rule." — April 5

The English-language Teheran Times said critics of the arrest were undermining national unity:

"At a time when unity is a top priority in the country, enemies in different garb and fashion and with new tactics are trying hard to eliminate what this martyr-loving nation has achieved after making unprecedented sacrifices. . . . Understand that the judiciary in Iran is based on Islamic principles and will never allow any injustice to be done to anyone." — April 6

Sarcasm

But a caller to a reader-response column in the newspaper Salam commented sarcastically:

"When I heard the news about the arrest of the Mayor of Teheran, I said to myself, 'Does this mean that among the country's managers, there has never been a senior official that had any problems of this kind? Is this why no one else has been

confronted?' If this is true, we are living in a heavenly garden without realizing it." — April 6

Many, including Ayatollah Mousavia Ardebili, former head of the judiciary, had praise for Mayor Karbaschi's urban stewardship:

"All of us know that Karbaschi has converted Teheran from an old-fashioned town into a modern metropolis. Eighty percent of the people are behind Karbaschi in this encounter." — April 10

Mayor Karbaschi himself struck a note of humility in an interview with the Iranian press agency on the day of his release:

"I am a small servant. . . . Sometimes such problems do occur in our country and the problems will be resolved by the grace of God. . . . Whatever misfortune befalls me, it really doesn't matter as long as it strengthens the basis of the Islamic revolution." — April 15



Mayor Gholam Hussein Karbaschi of Teheran, back at work.

Tide of Freedom Bypasses Arab World

Continued from Page 9

Arabs created is now marked by censorship and self-censorship, intellectual alienation or exile and political silence. In the case of Iraq, there is state terror and total repression. And everywhere the lure of nationalism still has some life. Intellectuals from Beirut to Cairo to Rabat have applauded Saddam Hussein's vitriolic rejection of Israel and defiance of the United States. "Except for Lebanon and to a certain degree Egypt, institutionalized democracy in the way most people understand the term doesn't really exist in the Arab world," Mr. Said said.

Still, he says, "there is a fairly vigorous counterforce in most Arab countries between the state and the people on the one hand and the grassroots opposition, often in demanding democratic reforms, on the other."

Mr. Said said Americans haven't noticed enough that in the Arab world today "people are trying constantly to test and push the limits of what is allowed by the regime, by the religious authorities."

"There's a very strong discussion within the Islamic world on the question of what is modernity," he said. "The old rhetoric is discredited; there is a new language now."

He said television, foreign publications and the Internet are steadily eroding old isolations. Mr. Ajami says he would like to be optimistic, too, but has been wrong before in prophesying the birth of a new order. "As the Arabs knock at the gate of the 21st century, can they bid farewell to the cluster of ideas that nationalism, the struggle against Israel such prime importance in their lives?" he asked. "Can they hold their rulers accountable? Can they reclaim their politics?"

In other words, can they reform their political life without the detour, the excuse of nationalism? "It's up to them."

"You must have the self-confidence to have democratic politics," Mr. Ajami said. "If what happened in Algeria is used as a model, there will never be democratic elections." He and others think Egypt, with its democratic tradition dulled by the Nasser, Sadat and Mubarak years, could still lead the way by restoring full democracy. If that happened, he said, "the political landscape of the Arabs would immediately change."

Tribal Spills

But the middle class has to do more than vote, said Phebe Marr, author of a history of Iraq. "You have to start with opening society and building attitudes of tolerance. You have to build institutions: women's organizations, a more open press." A society that doesn't debate issues will, when presented with political opportunity, often split along ethnic or tribal lines, she said.

The Arab world is quite susceptible, said Joseph Chamie, head of the Population Division at the United Nations and the son of Lebanese immigrants. "They are not one people," he said. "Their history was basically tribal, with people isolated by great distances and environment."

A number of experts and Arab-Americans interviewed think the United States has not done enough to foster democracy among Arabs, and they focus on America's unquestioning support for some of the region's least democratic, most conservative regimes, like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Mr. Said said Americans haven't noticed enough that in the Arab world today "people are trying constantly to test and push the limits of what is allowed by the regime, by the religious authorities."

There's a very strong discussion within the Islamic world on the question of what is modernity, he said. The old rhetoric is discredited; there is a new language now. He said television, foreign publications and the Internet are steadily eroding old isolations. Mr. Ajami says he would like to be optimistic, too, but has been wrong before in prophesying the birth of a new order. As the Arabs knock at the gate of the 21st century, can they bid farewell to the cluster of ideas that nationalism, the struggle against Israel such prime importance in their lives? he asked. Can they hold their rulers accountable? Can they reclaim their politics?

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ECONOMY

Weary Hands at the Throttle: Strains at the Union Pacific

By ALLEN R. MYERSON

FOR the Union Pacific Railroad workers crowded between shifts into a motel break room here, beetles crunching under their work boots, nights and weekends never arrive. And almost everyone has stories about their schedules.

Consider the conductor who departed Houston at 8:40 P.M. on a recent Thursday. So many other trains were trying to use the same rails that his 12-hour shift, the federally allowed maximum, brought him only 80 miles, just a third of the way to Livonia, a bayou town a couple of parishes west of Baton Rouge.

With no choice but to halt, the conductor was stranded more than three hours until a van came to his rescue. It took nearly five hours more to reach the motel here.

Dispatched back to Houston late on Saturday morning, he arrived shortly before midnight. After a few waking hours with his wife, he was back on duty just before noon on Sunday. This time he made it closer to the Livonia rail yard, but not close enough. Stranded again, a van driver dumped him at the motel at 2:15 A.M. Monday.

Even in normal times, to work on the railroad is to enter a world apart. Its schedules, culture and grimy, clangorous locales, where a slip or

stumble can end a career or a life, make conductors and engineers a hidden brotherhood. It is an existence that outsiders, especially families, often cannot understand.

But at the Union Pacific—the line established by Congress and Abraham Lincoln to span the continent—these are not normal times. A 1996 merger with Southern Pacific to form the nation's largest railroad caused what regulators call an unprecedented breakdown in rail traffic through the heart of America that has lasted more than 10 months.

In recent weeks, Union Pacific made enough progress in clearing out its Houston rail yards that schedules for many of this area's crews improved from impossible to merely exhausting. But then clogged traffic at the Laredo, Tex., gateway to Mexico backed up trains all the way to Kansas, forcing an embargo on many shipments and extra-long days for other crews.

Now that trains are rolling more smoothly through Laredo—the embargo ended on Tuesday—Gridlock Central has moved again. Today it's in the railroad's busiest region, around North Platte, Neb., where coal trains bound for steel mills, chemical plants and power stations are jamming the tracks. Maintenance improvements are under way, but a needed set of extra rails is not even scheduled to be completed until next year.

Economists say the losses for the nation total billions of dollars, and some customers, like Dow Chemical, have sued the railroad. Richard K. Davidson, Union Pacific's chairman and chief executive, had predicted prompt recoveries so often that he no longer dares to set any date.

But for Union Pacific workers, the costs are immediate and personal. Wives and children become strangers. During brief visits home, no plans can be firm. And Federal investigators, in findings that the railroad disputes, list mismanagement and worker fatigue among the prime causes of crashes that killed nine workers last year.

Seeing how the merger went so wrong takes no M.B.A., no fancy title, only the recent experience of trying to run a Union Pacific train. Engineers and conductors say they watched the railroad's managers try to squeeze the deal for every possible economy and efficiency. But when a brisk economy kept freight traffic rising, there were far too few supervisors, locomotives or crews.

"There are too few of everybody for what they're trying to do," said an engineer at the Oak Tree Inn, the motel here. "They're trying to put 10 pounds of taters into a five-pound sack."

THE company acknowledges as much. "I am acutely embarrassed, and our company is embarrassed, at the time it has taken to recover from our congestion crisis," Mr. Davidson told the Surface Transportation Board, a regulatory agency, earlier this month. "Decades of prior experience told us that our projections were correct. But reality has been telling us something else."

Mr. Davidson took a two-thirds pay cut last year, to \$961,000, as profits dropped 41 percent.

Like other railroad executives, he resists demands from rail customers, unions and members of Congress for renewed Government oversight. Since railroads were deregulated almost two decades ago, critics say they have won approval for mergers that have reduced competition and increased costs.

"The figures show that 90 percent of the shippers in the United States are now captive," said Charles R. Matthews, chairman of the Texas Railroad Commission. "That's why we're pushing the Surface Transportation Board for some policies that will encourage competition."

Union Pacific has responded to complaints over safety and service by agreeing to recruit thousands of new workers, though veterans say the inexperience of the new hires will present new risks. The railroad has also begun allowing workers to take a full 24 hours of rest after at least seven consecutive days of 12-hour shifts. (Though Federal rules limit them to 12 hours operating a train, they are paid "limbo time" for any extra hours they are stuck away from home or from a motel.) Another breakthrough: a company test, in the St. Louis area, of whether letting workers nap on idle trains might help them avoid nodding off when they are moving.

For Union Pacific, to bend at all is unusual. With systems modeled on the military, the company has seemingly endless rule books, infraction codes and penalties, governing everything from the appropriate choreography for jumping down from a train to how closely workers can approach a running or stopped engine before inserting their earplugs. "Insubordination," or refusing a direct order, is grounds for dismissal.

In Livonia, a glorified rail crossing with two traffic lights, workers must sign out from the motel so dispatchers can always reach them. Their listed destinations are seldom farther than the 24-hour diner that shares the parking lot—or its only competition, which operates from a kitchen at the gas station next door.

Yet Patrick Murphy, a conductor for a year and a half, swears by the need for rules. As the saying among his comrades goes, they are written in blood. He told of a fellow conductor who stepped off a moving train with the wrong foot first and paid for it with both legs.

"If you have an accident, it isn't a little accident," said Mr. Murphy, 28, a Houston resident who served seven



The merger of Union Pacific and Southern Pacific has left trains stacked at the Englewood switching yards and delayed shipments in Houston.

years in the Navy before joining the Union Pacific.

Those rules make the rails a demanding mistress. Mr. Murphy explains that when his pager buzzes, he has 10 minutes to check in or face discipline. Whether at a restaurant, the movies or wherever, he said, "you've got to throw your date to the side and make that phone call." Once he explains that he is due at work at, say, 1 A.M., his dates are often ready to throw him to the side.

For all these rigors, conductors and engineers get two rewards. First is membership in a fraternity of those who can guide mighty chains of steel a mile or two long. "Like my dad says, 'The railroad is not a job; it's a way of life,'" said Cory Gravola, a conductor and the son of a railroad engineer, as he finished a Sunday shift at the Livonia rail yard.

Second is pay that is about as good as blue-collar gets: usually \$35,000 to \$90,000 a year, including overtime, but \$70,000 to more than \$100,000 last year with all the extended shifts.

"Compared to jobs outside, the pay here is astronomical," said Terry Van Epps, an engineer, as he signed out—or tied up, as railroaders say—by computer at the Livonia rail yard office. With "limbo time," Mr. Van Epps's 12½-hour shift earned him \$338.90. And he rarely takes a day off.

For all the bread they put on the table, conductors and engineers are rarely there to break it, even in better times. "I lost my first wife because of the railroad," said an engineer with 27 years' service. He stepped behind the counter at the Livonia diner to pour his own coffee. "This is my home away from home," he explained. It was past 11 on a Sunday night, but with no days off this year, he often lost track.

"We see more of them than their wives," said a waitress, sliding in to one of the diner's booths for a break. The engineer poured her a cup, too. He told how he raised his daughter, 8 years old when her parents split, by hiring a niece who was just graduating from high school.

"I stayed divorced for 10 years," he explained. "I remarried, but it ain't working out either. She just doesn't understand."

Last year, workers in the Houston region, which stretches into much of Arkansas and Louisiana, reached their limits. They won their union's backing for a regional walkout, but a court ruled that safety and fatigue were not issues over which they could strike. In the railroad tradition of wearing company caps, they made up caps of their own with the red, white and blue Union Pacific crest—and this motto: "Hello Houston. We Have a Problem."

If railroad workers only recently began to feel like the endangered crew of Apollo 13, their ranks had long been notorious for featherbed-

ding. Well into the 1980's, freight trains had five men on board. Besides the engineer, at the controls, and the conductor, a co-pilot who manages the train and the paperwork, there were brakemen and switchmen. Women were, and still are, rare.

Union Pacific led the way in using technology to direct and monitor trains, lessening the need for large crews and eliminating cabooses. By the early 1990's, labor pacts had reduced the crews on long-distance trains to just two. Nationally, railroad employment fell to 256,000 by 1996 from more than twice that in 1980, as freight increased by nearly half.

Still, wrinkles need not apply. From Mr. Davidson, a 6-foot-4 former brakeman, on down, railroad workers are sized like their trains. When a train breaks in two—it happens once or twice a day on the system—the conductor must be ready to lug an 80-pound joint, called a knuckle, perhaps a mile or more.

Besides muscle, the work takes attentiveness and skill. Though long hauls across the open West can turn monotonous, engineers and conductors on other routes are busy every minute. Unlike jets, trains have no auto-pilot.

On a recent run through the humid dark from Lake Charles, La., to Houston, Alfred Deloach, the engineer, kept his thick hands on the throttle, horn or brakes. Mr. Murphy, his conductor, shouted to be heard above the roar of two engines and 6,000 horsepower.

Over a crackling radio, dispatchers relayed the conditions ahead and granted permission to proceed. Computerized track-side monitors beamed in their own cautions in the monotone of synthesized speech. Mr. Deloach, who also lives in Houston, adjusted his speed through curves, grades, bridges and patches where maintenance, delayed because of the congestion, forced him to go as slowly as 10 miles an hour. At his top speed of almost 50 miles an hour, stopping a train with 2 locomotives and 96 cars, weighing a total of more than 6,200 tons, would have taken at least a mile.

UION PACIFIC doesn't own the Oak Tree Inn, but it might as well. Most nights, it reserves at least 34 rooms for its crews and fills the other eight, too. With its spartan but tidy rooms, the Oak Tree offers some of the company's better lodgings. Elsewhere, Federal investigators found dormitories the railroad owns where workers were prey to thieves and vandals. One lodging in Arizona was so infested with insects that several crew members were treated for spider bites.

In talks with the Federal Railroad Administration, which enforces safe-

ty codes, Union Pacific has agreed to shut its worst dormitories.

On an inspection tour of Fort Worth and Dallas operations last week in a Chevrolet Suburban rebuilt to ride on tracks, Mr. Davidson recalled that when he began in 1960, the life was even tougher. The railroad provided no lodging, so he stayed at a Y.M.C.A. in Kansas, where weeds poked up through the wooden slats of the shower stall, or a 50-cent-a-night hotel. Other workers simply dug pits, covered them with tarps and crawled in.

Mr. Davidson, now 56, won rapid promotions, finishing a stint as supervisor of the Fort Worth yard in 1971. Last week, he found many older but familiar faces still around, with some younger faces familiar for their resemblance to their fathers.

FOR all the dislocation suffered by his company, tradition remains a common bond. "We've got a piece of track in Omaha, Neb., built in 1902," Mr. Davidson said in the inspection car. "They still call it 'the new cutoff.'"

While acknowledging the need for more modern labor conditions and manageable schedules, Mr. Davidson says none of the employee deaths last year resulted from overwork. In one, he said, an engineer fell asleep despite having had two weeks of vacation, and in another an engineer failed an alcohol test.

But among the crews here in Livonia, exhaustion shows. At dawn one recent Monday, conductors and engineers who had finished long overnight shifts paced the sidewalk beside the motel. They calculated and recalculated the odds of having a room open up sooner than vans could arrive to take them to another motel 45 minutes away.

The drivers of the vans and sport utilities—carrlys, the vehicles are called—are themselves so exhausted at times that their passengers choose the most alert among them to take the wheel. After his van driver repeatedly swerved across a yellow line a few weeks ago, an engineer based in Houston said, passengers ordered him to pull over and nap.

Restored or not, engineers and conductors can find themselves on unfamiliar routes without the necessary training. One engineer, waiting outside the Oak Tree Inn for a room after 17 hours of work—counting 2 hours of waiting for a ride, then a 2½-hour van trip—told how he was trained on the Beaumont-Houston route by three managers who had never been there.

One was from Texas, at least; the others were from Wisconsin and Utah. They insistently enforced the rules on proper footwear and the proper timing, loudness and sequence of horn signals. "He didn't know where we were," the engineer said of the manager from Utah. "But he knew how loud to blow the horn."

The engineer, wearing a striped Casey Jones cap, recounted how he complained about the untrained trainers on a new safety hot line to the executive offices.

"Did you bring it up with your supervisor?" he was asked.

"I don't know who my supervisor is anymore," he answered. "I don't even have a phone number."

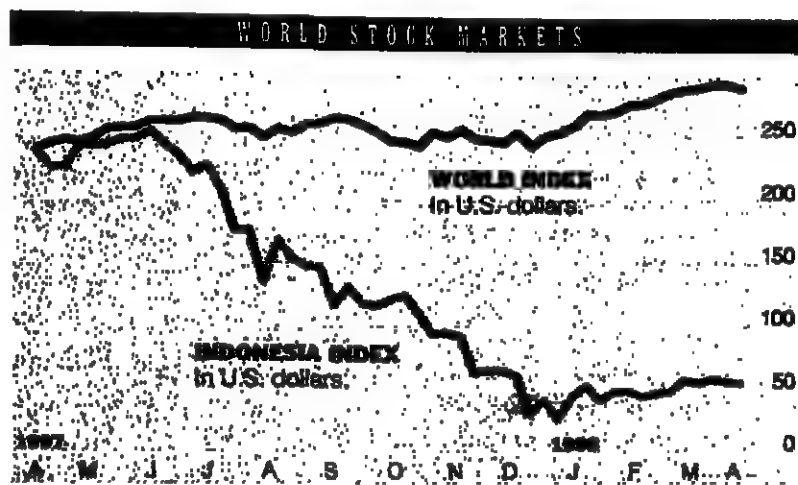
"Did you bring it up in a safety meeting?" he was asked.

"I haven't had a safety meeting since 1994," he said.

The woman who took his call promised to investigate and call back. She never did, the engineer said. Mr. Davidson said he had heard of no such lapses regarding safety complaints, which he said were followed up with local managers.

His employees, however, are fighting back with humor that, as in the old Soviet Union and now Russia, contrasts with cheery pronouncements from above. They speak of guiding trains by the calendar, not the clock. And they joke that the Ringling Brothers circus wanted to buy the company—"not for the railroad; they wanted the clowns running it."

To fix what went wrong, many workers have the same answer as their customers. "I got a solution to this merger," said one engineer, waiting on the motel sidewalk for a room or a lift. "Just go back to the way it was."



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Acquisitions World Index, a measure of stock market performance. The FT index is compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

PERFORMANCE IN U.S. DOLLARS IN LOCAL CURR.

Country	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank
Australia	217.28	-0.5	12	8.6	21	3.50	221.99
Austria	235.35	6.2	1	24.5	10	1.49	219.52
Belgium	328.97	0.5	9	29.3	6	2.40	300.72
Brazil	258.04	-3.1	25	8.2	22	1.91	543.24
Britain	384.25	-1.7	18	15.8	14	2.87	341.87
Canada	244.34	-1.5	16	15.0	15	1.58	254.09
Denmark	502.69	-2.6	24	12.4	19	1.29	468.27
Finland	431.58	4.3	2	55.0	1	1.83	493.46
France	298.25	-1.2	14	24.6	9	2.09	281.63
Germany	277.18	-1.8	19	20.8	13	1.27	258.71
Hong Kong	330.67	-0.5	13	-7.4	26	4.80	328.99
Indonesia	56.82	-1.5	17	-14.0	28	2.46	276.22
Ireland	547.73	0.5	8	36.4	4	1.77	549.20
Italy	160.36	-2.5	28	36.3	5	1.22	212.51
Japan	98.52	7.7	4	3.4	23	0.97	81.60
Malaysia	185.67	0.6	6	12.9	18	2.58	269.14
Mexico	1,693.96	0.2	10	-6.1	25	1.47	1,585.29
Netherlands	500.99	0.8	5	22.2	11	2.00	461.82
New Zealand	76.03	0.5	7	-0.5	24	4.53	72.07
Norway	350.51	2.8	3	9.7	20	1.78	354.94
Philippines	96.63	-3.1	26	21.8	12	1.11	185.40
Singapore	207.48	-2.0	20	-7.8	27	1.97	152.07
South Africa	337.75	0.2	11	27.3	7	2.38	373.24
Spain	374.11	-4.0	27	37.6	3	1.77	432.24
Sweden	585.15	-2.3	22	24.6	8	1.75	587.25
Switzerland	395.07	-2.5	23	13.0	17	1.09	356.83
Thailand	26.80	-2.2	21	38.9	2	7.43	40.41
United States	452.96	-1.4	15	14.3	16	1.41	452.96

COMPOSITE INDICES

	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank
Europe	348.65	-1.9	20.9	2.04	330.11	20.5	
Pacific Basin	108.79	2.0	2.7	1.63	90.88	3.1	
Europe/Pacific	208.19	-0.7	14.8	1.92	180.90	14.5	
World	290.52	-1.1	14.4	1.65	264.95	14.4	

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close.

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EXCHANGE RATES

	Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	Year Ago
Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar	131.16	128.65	+1.95	126.46
German marks to the U.S. dollar	1.7895	1.8083	-1.036	1.7275
Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar	1.4350	1.4285	+0.455	1.3977
U.S. dollars to the British pound	1.6892	1.6832	-0.331	1.6216

Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

UPS AND DOWNS

April 20-24: A Souring Mood Stalls Stocks and Bonds as Gold Gains

PRICES

DOMESTIC EQUITIES

Broad market	Down 0.43%
S. & P. 500 index	1,107.90
Blue chips	Down 1.12%
Dow 30 Industrials	9,064.62
Small capitalization	Down 1.37%
Russell 2000 index	480.32

DOMESTIC BONDS

Treasuries	Down 0.34%
Ryan Labs. Total Return	217.11
Municipals	Down 0.99%
Bond Buyer index	121.59
Corporates	Down 0.28%
Merrill Lynch Master index	955.62

AROUND THE WORLD

European stocks	Down 1.86%
F.T.-Actuaries Europe	349.65
Asian stocks	Up 1.97%
F.T.-Actuaries Pacific Basin	108.79
Gold	Up 1.55%
New York cash price	\$314.20

Foreign indexes are given in dollar terms

YIELDS

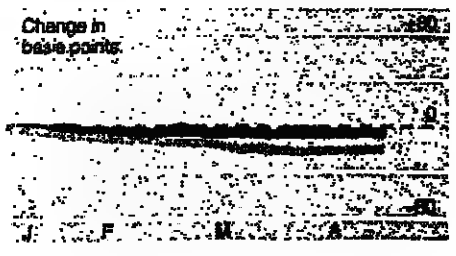
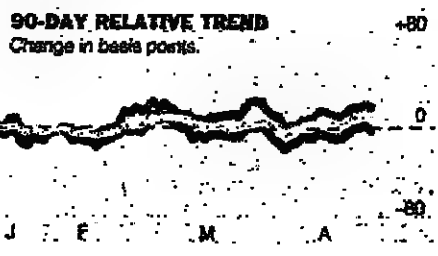
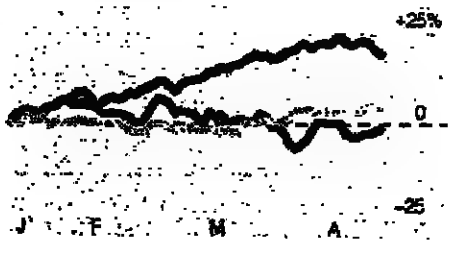
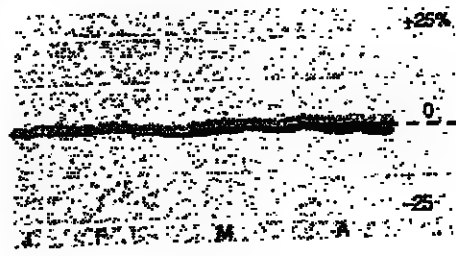
BONDS

Long bonds	5.94%
30-year Treasuries	Up 7 basis pts.
Notes	5.58%
2-year Treasuries	Up 8 basis pts.
Municipals	5.34%
Bond Buyer index	Up 6 basis pts.

100 basis points = 1 percentage point

OTHER INVESTMENTS

Money market funds	5.02%
Taxable average	Down 1 basis pt.
Bank C.D.'s	4.98%
1-year small savers	Up 1 basis pt.
Stocks	1.44%
S. & P. 500 dividend yield	Up 1 b.p.



Sources: Bank Rate Monitor, Bloomberg Financial Markets; The Bond Buyer; Datastream; Goldman, Sachs, IBC's Money Fund Report; Merrill Lynch; Standard & Poor's; Ryan Labs

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Israel Turns 50

Fifty years ago, in the shadow of the Holocaust, a small, determined band of Jews realized a dream that had spanned 19 centuries of exile and harrowing hardship for the Jewish people. They founded the country of Israel, beginning a remarkable epic of nation-building and survival that is one of the stirring sagas of the 20th century. As the 50th anniversary approaches this week, the world marvels at the faith and fortitude that have not only sustained Israel through five turbulent decades but brought it within reach of a new era of peace and prosperity. With wise leadership in Israel, and continued American support, Israel can reach that promised land.

Few new nations have endured so much turmoil in their early years. Israel's founding brought the first of four wars in which outnumbered Israeli forces defeated or held at bay the armies of Arab neighbors intent on extinguishing the Jewish state. Israel in those embattled decades became synonymous with military strength and agility and the daring leadership of generals like Moshe Dayan and Yitzhak Rabin. The Six-Day War in 1967, when Israel swiftly crushed the military forces of Syria, Egypt and Jordan, and the commando raid at Entebbe in 1976 that rescued hijacked hostages are still studied at military academies today.

Israel's understandable preoccupation with security also brought mistakes and excesses. The 1982 invasion and occupation of Lebanon produced the slaughter of Palestinian refugees by Israel's Christian Lebanese allies, a massacre nearby Israeli forces did nothing to stop. Israel's treatment of Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and West Bank has often been harsh.

Despite war, and a scarcity of water and other resources, Israel built an economy that rivals Western Europe in per-capita wealth and technical sophistication. Tel Aviv became a hub of modern architecture and commerce. Successive waves of immigration multiplied Israel's Jewish population almost eightfold to five million, second only to that of the United States.

In a politically barren region where many countries are ruled by despots and autocrats, Israel created a vibrant democracy in which rival parties and political leaders competed openly for power but never lost sight of their common goals. Israel had the good fortune to produce strong, visionary leaders like David Ben-Gurion, Golda Meir, Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Rabin.

But Israel's defiant idealism and unity of purpose have recently yielded to a painful if unavoidable period of introspection and uncertainty. Heroic wars of national survival have given way to frustrating and divisive peace negotiations with the Palestinians and a wave of terrorist attacks in

Israel. Israel, in essence, is grappling in new and more nuanced ways with the issue that more than any other has defined its life, how best to assure its security, even its survival.

Few nations since the end of the Second World War have faced the lethal, unremitting threat that has stalked Israel since its birth. Even today, with a patina of peace in the Middle East, Israel must maintain the military might to defend itself and to prevail against an array of Arab enemies. But now, for the first time, Israel can also secure its survival through peace. Finding the right balance between strength and diplomacy is the greatest challenge that Israel confronts.

For a country that has fought so hard just to stay alive, the idea of peace may seem a miracle. But the end of the cold war, the opening of markets and new technologies and a thirst for peace among both Israelis and Palestinians present an opportunity for negotiated stability that Israel should seize. It is the gateway to a time of tranquility that all Israelis seek.

As Israel marks this anniversary, it is also struggling to decide what kind of state and society it wishes to be. The founding years when sandal-clad settlers pouring off steamships turned the deserts green and invested all their energy and idealism in their kibbutzim are now a romantic but fading memory. Waves of immigration have transformed and shaken Israeli society. Tensions between Orthodox and secular Jews have increased, hundreds of thousands of Russian immigrants are demanding a place in Israel, and the political divisions that flow from these demographic trends have eroded the common purpose that long unified the country.

One hallmark of Israel has always been that secular and religious communities could live and work together toward the goal of building a Jewish state. That required the mingling of profoundly different peoples and beliefs in ways that promoted the country's welfare without homogenizing the culture. Today that social contract is fraying.

No return is possible to a simpler time. Israel must learn to manage its diversity and to draw strength from it. Those so passionately opposed to their neighbors, for religious, political or ethnic reasons, need to recognize that unbridgeable divisions ultimately produce political paralysis, a condition that Israel cannot afford.

Reaching a state of equilibrium is essential not only for Israelis. Israel is more than a country. It is an idea that inspires millions of Jews around the world. From the ruins of Europe and the gas chambers of the Holocaust, from America, Russia and dozens of other lands, an indefatigable people created a new country sustained by an ancient faith. A half-century later, there is much to celebrate.

An Unfair Tuition Tax Break

President Clinton is right to oppose the education bill approved by the Senate last week. The bill is designed to give modest tax breaks to mostly higher-income families with children in private schools. It would do nothing for public school systems that desperately need aid to deal with crumbling facilities and overcrowded classrooms. The House has already passed a similar measure.

The legislation would drive public resources into private and parochial schools by changing the tax code. It would allow parents to put \$2,000 of after-tax money into education savings accounts for each child. Interest on the accounts would be tax-free, and the money could be used for private tuition from kindergarten through high school. Public school children could also use money from such accounts to pay for tutoring and other education-related expenses. But in reality, families that pay private tuition stand to benefit most.

Even voucher-type plans, which could siphon

resources and political support from public schools, are based on a more coherent theory. A voucher plan is supposed to allow poor and middle-income students who cannot afford private tuition the ability to choose private schools. The Senate bill, however, would subsidize those who are already capable of paying tuition.

The Senate rejected Democratic amendments that would have increased spending for public school construction and additional teachers. Instead it adopted two troubling amendments, one to collapse some 20 Federal education programs into a giant education block grant that would reduce Federal oversight on the spending and another to ban voluntary national testing on reading and math. Reducing the Federal role in education will not help make better schools a national priority. Nor does creating a new tax break improve education for the 90 percent of American students who attend public school.

Editorial Observer/VERLYN KLINKENBORG

Urban Geometry Along the East River's Edge

Last week I took a taxi from La Guardia across the Triborough Bridge and down the F.D.R. to midtown Manhattan. It was a warm evening, just at sunset, and the air smelled like summer for the first time this year. I found myself watching the trees in bloom along the highway and beyond them the dark backdrop of the city. It occurred to me how much the eye loves order and how well this city satisfies that love, especially from its edges. Row after row of bricks, column after column of windows, a platoon of buildings on every block and the blocks themselves receding into the distance — all that tessellation! Then I looked at the East River, where the grid falls away. Two tugboats were passing under the Queensboro Bridge, one of them pushing a barge.

The setting reminded me of a book I've been reading, called "Seeing Like a State," by James Scott, a professor of political science and anthropology at Yale. Mr. Scott's subject is every state's effort to make

Looking at the city's street grid with an anthropologist's help.

the society it governs legible, and thus readily susceptible to taxation and control. His purpose is to explain the failure of industrial agriculture and of high-modernist cities like Brasilia and Chandigarh, India, whose apostle was Le Corbusier.

Mr. Scott compares natural forests to the "scientific" but ecologically disastrous forests developed in Prussia and Saxony in the late 18th century — orderly rows of a single tree species. He compares the non-geometric street plan in medieval Bruges, impenetrable to strangers, to the "transparency" of New York's grid of numbered streets and avenues. He traces the emergence of last names, which appeared sometimes gradually and sometimes by

fiat, but always to serve the state's interest in identifying uniquely each individual in its domain.

Mr. Scott's point is that even in a brutally abstract city like Brasilia or a brutally abstract agriculture like the Soviet collectives, a knowledge that is local, practical, cunning and experimental survives. The authority of state planners is countermanded — even at high risk — by local experience. Tanzanian farmers turn from United Nations-endorsed monocropping back to a native and more sustainable agriculture. Construction workers in Brasilia erect and live in unplanned neighborhoods that are comparatively illegible to the state.

New York has its high-modernist moments, of course, its "skyscraper machines," as Le Corbusier put it, who also said of Manhattan, "The streets are at right angles to each other and the mind is liberated." This was never a planned city, in the sense that Brasilia was, but the geometric authority of the street grid and of the buildings that rise above it

(and of the state that lies behind it) is incontestable. Except that we do contest it all the time.

Into the logical order of New York, the superior order of private experience always creeps. Watching the joggers and pedestrians along the edge of the F.D.R., I realized that every sharp edge in this city, every right angle, has been rounded off, metaphorically speaking, by the personal pathways we make among the buildings. Some paths are spontaneous — cutting across a lane of stalled traffic, for instance — but some acquire the economy of habit. My own trail to work takes me purposefully past one remarkable conifer near Madison Avenue and along the gravel walks in Bryant Park, where dead-headed tulips are legion. We can live with the order this city imposes not only because the eye loves its visual qualities but because experience tells us that the grid is not absolute. If you go east or west far enough you come to the river, where the tugboats leave their turbulent wake.

Helping Girls, Do We Hurt Boys?

To the Editor:

The argument against having boys participate in Take Our Daughters to Work Day is that it would interfere with girls' togetherness and alter the quality of the experience (front page, April 23). People used to say the same thing about women — that having them in the workplace would be more hassle than it's worth.

Boys are considerably less likely than girls to go to college, far more likely to drop out of high school and many times more likely to commit suicide (although girls are more likely to attempt suicide). Shouldn't boys have the right to attend an event that could significantly benefit their outlook — even if it is at an expense to girls?

KIRK NECHAMKIN
Forest Hills, Queens, April 23, 1998

T-Shirt Debate

To the Editor:

I was disturbed to read in "After Girls Get the Attention, Focus Shifts to Boys' Woes" (front page, April 23) that one teacher's suggestion that boys wear T-shirts with the slogan "Boys Are Good" was met with objections from student teachers — one of whom was wearing a button reading, "So Many Men, So Little Intelligence."

Would the student teachers have objected if the teacher had suggested students wear T-shirts reading, "Girls Are Good"? What would have happened if a male teacher had shown up with a button belittling the intelligence of women? If this attitude is prevalent among student teachers, as the teacher seems to imply, what kind of messages will these teachers send their male students when they actually begin teaching?

GORDON GRABAME
Greens Farms, Conn., April 23, 1998

Don't Blame Mothers

To the Editor:

I read with agitation your April 23 front-page article about the cultural threat faced by American boys. The suggestions for changes in interacting with boys were for the most part directed at mothers. There was little mention of how fathers and other adult males might be effective in changing attitudes about boys. Men are essential to character development in both boys and girls.

All adults need to relate to both boys and girls in ways that demonstrate and encourage healthy attitudes and behaviors. If men do not know how to contribute, we all need to work on remedying that.

PATTI CULROSS
San Francisco, April 23, 1998

New Glass Ceiling

To the Editor:

Re "After Girls Get the Attention, Focus Shifts to Boys' Woes" (front page, April 23): Apparently, girls are hitting the glass ceiling before they are old enough to work! As a working mother, I'm sorry to see that Take Our Daughters to Work Day has brought so much attention to boys.

When the Swiftest Are Kept Out of the Race

To the Editor:

Re "Racing the Kenyans" (Op-Ed, April 22): Thank you for letting Alberto Salazar set the record straight. The xenophobic attitude of some race directors and American track executives toward Kenyan runners who take the prizes in American races is downright shameful. Mr. Salazar hits upon the major reason that American distance running is in such a funk: it no longer attracts the top athletes it once did. If track executives think that excluding the Kenyans will help foster a better environment for American runners, they have another thing coming. Following the Kenyans are the Ethiopians, Mexicans, the Spanish and others. You can't get rid of them all.

MICHAEL MARCHEAND
New York, April 22, 1998

To the Editor:

Re "Racing the Kenyans" (Op-Ed, April 22): A basketball game halted to let an injured player break a record, the suspension of Professional Golfers' Association regulations to accommodate a disabled golfer, and now the

best runners excluded from a race because they might win: these are the sorts of exceptions and exclusions I remember from childhood family badminton. If athletes would rather "share" than compete, perhaps they should stay in their backyards.

LUCY BUCKNELL
Santa Monica, Calif., April 22, 1998

Lack of Medical Privacy

To the Editor:

Your April 22 news article on the efforts of President Clinton's legal team to create a new "protective function" privilege for Secret Service agents to prevent the White House independent counsel, Kenneth W. Starr, from questioning them reflects a widely held misconception as to the privacy of our medical records under Federal law.

You refer to the Supreme Court's creation two years ago of a psychotherapist-patient privilege as an extension of the privilege afforded to communications with medical doctors and lawyers. In fact, there is no general Federal privilege protecting doctor-patient communications.

Unless Congress acts to create such a privilege, there is nothing to prevent a zealous Federal prosecutor like Mr. Starr from subpoenaing an individual's most revealing medical records over the objections of patient and physician and regardless of state constitutional privacy rights.

MICHAEL T. RUSHER
San Francisco, April 22, 1998

The writer is legal affairs adviser at the Lindsmith Center.

Re "Concern Among Jews Is Heightened as Scientists Deepen Gene Studies" (news article, April 22): Those disposed to see a cloud in every silver lining have managed to cast doubt on research about the causes of and possible cures for genetic diseases prevalent among Ashkenazi Jews. There are good scientific reasons to focus on Ashkenazi Jews, given the long history of intermarriage. The research is conducted by responsible scientists, many Jewish themselves, under stringent ethical guidelines. There are no credible reports of misuse of the data.

While there are legitimate concerns about what insurance companies might do with genetic information, these are readily addressed by pending legislation banning the use of such information by insurance companies and employers.

Those Jewish spokesmen who challenge such research raise the specter that the research will give rise to theories about the genetic inferiority of Jews.

But it is a dishonest use of history to fail to recognize the differences between racist Nazi eugenics and responsible scientific research to relieve human suffering. One can only hope that the Jewish community will prove more sober than some of its leaders, who imagine stigma and harm to Jewish self-image where none exist.

LOIS WALDMAN
Dir., Commission for Women's Equality, American Jewish Congress
New York, April 23, 1998

Re "After Girls Get the Attention, Focus Shifts to Boys' Woes" (front page, April 23): I found the empty desks in school on Thursday depressing. What message about the importance of education do we send girls on Take Our Daughters to Work Day when we pull them out of school? Wouldn't it be better to schedule this event after school or on a holiday?

And what exactly are the children learning about work? Many businesses plan activities to entertain them so that their parents can get some real work done. This does not give children a good idea of a typical workday.

PHYLLIS BERTIN
Chappaqua, N.Y., April 23, 1998

The writer is an education consultant.

Re "Concern Among Jews Is Heightened as Scientists Deepen Gene Studies" (news article, April 22): Of course, the "psychological scars" you refer to are well defined in the generations surviving the Holocaust. As to how this affects the Jewish community's ambivalence over genetic testing, let us be reassured that no such scars — including that of the tattooed arm — find their way in or out of DNA.

Memory is a powerful and therapeutic tool; the tragedy is to become paralyzed by it.

NOEL D. STURTZ
Aventura, Fla., April 22, 1998

More power to Hadassah and other Jewish groups that promote cooperation with the medical and scientific communities in the study of diseases for which Jews have a genetic predisposition (news article, April 22). The model that comes to mind is the partnership between scientists and gay men in the 1970's relating to hepatitis B and later the advent of AIDS.

Not only were medical breakthroughs hastened (a vaccine for hepatitis B and effective antiviral therapy for HIV), but community building and public awareness were also positive adjuncts from which all demographic groups were able to benefit.

REGINA LINDER
New York, April 23, 1998

The writer is an associate professor of health sciences at Hunter College.

Re "Concern Among Jews Is Heightened as Scientists Deepen Gene Studies" (news article, April 22): The report on the high incidence of radiation-related illnesses in Ukraine 12 years after the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear plant highlights the tenfold increase in thyroid cancer (news article, April 22). This could have been prevented if potassium iodide — a cheap and effective antidote — had been stockpiled in adequate quantities and distributed promptly.

Today, potassium iodide is part of nuclear emergency preparedness throughout the developed world, except in the United States. A Federal policy was issued months before the accident at the Chernobyl plant describing mandatory stockpiling of the drug as "not worthwhile." In 1996, an interagency Federal committee approved a revised policy, under which potassium iodide would be made available to any state requesting it, but bitter opposition to stockpiling within the Nuclear Regulatory Commission has delayed the policy's issuance.

PETER G. CRANE
Chevy Chase, Md., April 23, 1998

Re "Bedfellows of Every Stripe in NATO Fray" (news article, April 21): If the Western European countries do not think that expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization will lead to confrontation with Russia, why should the United States be afraid?

In fact, postponing the decision about NATO enlargement is more dangerous than admitting Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic now.

It sends a signal to different political groups in Russia encouraging a more aggressive stand against expansion. This is as dangerous for Russia and the United States as for the three proposed member countries.

Right now there is a political vacuum in the Central Europe. If the United States shows indecisiveness and refrains from prompt action in filling it, we might be unpleasantly surprised by the events that follow.

MARIA HRABOWSKI
Norwood, Mass., April 21, 1998

Re "Bedfellows of Every Stripe in NATO Fray" (news article, April 21): If the Western European countries do not think that expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization will lead to confrontation with Russia, why should the United States be afraid?

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Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

Father's
Little
Helper

WASHINGTON
It is a sign of the times that the only thing American men are more obsessed with than Viagra is why they didn't buy stock in Viagra.

We are moments away from Viagra juice bars in Brentwood, skim decaf Viagraccino in Seattle and Viagraburgers at the White House.

My immediate reaction is: You guys can't have Viagra if we can't have fen-phen. Why is it that the "miracle" drugs for women always seem to have lethal side effects? Fen-phen caused heart trouble and the new "cure" for breast cancer may cause womb cancer.

Meanwhile, the only serious side effects for Viagra seem to be the cramps urologists have developed from writing so many prescriptions, and the specter of insurance companies and the Government deciding how often poor, but game, seniors can have sex.

Viagra works so well that one of the only failures reported so far was an overly sanguine 84-year-old man from Oklahoma City.

I know my reaction is petty. So, I will try to offer a more sophisticated social analysis of what it means that doctors all over the country now have taped phone messages advising, "Press 3 for Viagra."

It has been a stunning week. Until now, the last thing on earth men would admit to was impotence. But men of all ages are swamping doctors' offices, claiming flaccidity and begging for that little blue pill dubbed the "Pitler Riser."

It's sort of touching, really. You know all those men aren't impotent. A lot must think the pills will turn them into love machines and help them get more sex. But what's wrong with these would-be studs, pills can't fix.

Press 3
for
Viagra.

This mass yearning for virility does illuminate a couple of things. It explains the infatuation with the swaggering Rat Pack and silly cigar bars. And it explains why the public never really got angry at Bill Clinton for his rapacious appetites. Americans, so rarely so anxious about sex, were obviously reassured, perhaps even proud, to see their leader functioning at peak performance. (A guest on MSNBC joked that the Viagra ad jingle could be "Take the pill and be like Bill.")

Tom Brokaw predicted a senior sexual revolution. Will Sarasota change its name to Viagra Falls?

But boomers guys in their 40's and 50's are helping to drive this craze, because boomers think the easy way is the best way, and are determined to turn back the clock on aging. They can get their eyesight lasered back to 20-20, their teeth whitened, their love handles siphoned, their frown lines Botoxed, their baldness alleviated.

The sexual revolution that began with the Pill in the 60's may revive with another kind of pill in the 90's. The generation of free love, eroto-pharmacology and psychedelic drugs ("One pill makes you larger and one pill makes you small," as Jefferson Airplane wailed) is morphing into Gen V with a new recreational drug.

Men think women are greeting the arrival of Viagra, which promises to enhance performance if taken an hour before sex, with as much unalloyed glee as they are. Sorry, guys, but it's more complicated than that.

An unscientific poll of my girlfriends found that they would rather have a pill that could change a man's personality an hour after sex. A pill that insures that he always calls the next day and never gets spooked.

Women already think men are led too much by their anatomy. If Pfizer's rivals are smart, they are looking for the Viagra antidote. For each woman who celebrates Viagra, there's another who has nightmares about her 62-year-old husband undergoing a satyr transformation and chasing 21-year-old interns, his desk littered with empty Viagra bottles. Few wives want to worry about counting their husbands' Viagra pills. And think of the male wrath if women get out of the mood during that crucial window of Viagra opportunity.

As men know, women like to think they're special. With Viagra, women will never know for sure whether it's their own allure or just chemically enhanced blood-vessel function. Viagra is in trials for women, and may win over female doubters if it is shown to have the same benefits. Then again, the answer may not be in our blood vessels.

But we are still dreaming of pills that would increase male self-awareness instead of self-indulgence. Or even cure our pet peeves. As one woman I know who works in television wickedly observed, "How about a pill that would stop men from giving Diane Sawyer seven million dollars a year?"

it's all about me

ritocracy

Rewarding the Best, Forgetting the Rest

By Nicholas Lemann

A few weeks ago, the Educational Testing Service threw itself a 50th anniversary party. In Trenton, Searchlights played against the sky. Tom Brokaw and Secretary of Education Richard Riley gave speeches, and Vice President Al Gore and Gov. Christine Todd Whitman of New Jersey offered their videotaped congratulations. E.T.S.'s 93-year-old founding president, Henry Chauncey, stood up and took a bow.

The founding of E.T.S., the organization that administers the S.A.T. and many other standardized tests, is a symbol for something broader: the development, in the middle decades of the 20th century, of a national personnel system.

Before World War II, it was almost impossible for schools or employers to perform straight-up comparisons of people from all over the country; people got ahead through informal networks and apprenticeship systems. The reason that top colleges began using the S.A.T., for example, was that they were simply unable to evaluate potential students who were not boarding school graduates.

Today, there is no official Government office that sets the rules for everyone's career, but in field after field — law and medicine, academia, finance, consulting, government — there is a codified, rational system of evaluation and advancement that has grown up in the past 50 years. It usually begins with tests and degrees, and then moves on to some system of formal review by colleagues. We call it meritocracy.

These rankings bring with them opportunities and rewards — or not, depending on where a person ranks. The system doesn't have an official name, but it's often referred to as "the meritocracy."

The meritocracy is a little like the parable of the blind men and the elephant.

Nicholas Lemann, the national correspondent of *The Atlantic Monthly*, is the author of a forthcoming book on meritocracy in the United States.

elephant: you're always highly aware of the piece of it that affects you personally, but it's difficult to perceive the whole thing at once.

We are obsessed with testing and ranking in our own lives as well as our children's. We avidly follow the public dramas the system produces. Robert Barro, a star economics professor at Harvard, couldn't decide whether to jump to Columbia, which had offered him a \$300,000 salary, a subsidized apartment and a \$55,000 sinecure for his wife. The City of New Orleans gave a 50 percent pay increase to its police chief, Richard Pennington, to keep him from taking a job in Washington. The University of California at Berkeley was forced to abolish affirmative action, and therefore accepted a freshman class with substantially reduced numbers

What we're missing in our rush to rank ourselves.

of African-Americans, Hispanics and American Indians.

All these are meritocracy stories: the road to economist, police chief and many other high posts begins with standardized tests, and it was the enforced and increased reliance on S.A.T. scores that produced those Berkeley admissions results.

But our understanding of the purpose of the meritocratic system is badly warped. It wasn't meant to be a way of distributing money and prestige. It was meant to be a way of making the whole society strong and coherent. Michael Young, the British sociologist who invented the word "meritocracy" in 1958, cobbled it together from a Latin prefix, meaning worth, and a Greek suffix, meaning rule. The American meritocracy today is all prefix and no suffix. We're totally focused on the question of who possesses merit and don't pay nearly enough attention to the overall good.

When the system was set up, in the late 1940's, the idea was to generate a new kind of leadership for the country. We had just won World War II thanks in part to the expertise of

European émigré scientists. The cold war was looming. Our economy had already become industrial and was quickly becoming technological. The size and scope of Government had grown rapidly.

We seemed to need a small group of highly trained technocrat-statesmen who would make sure we won our competition with the Soviets on the research front, who could run the large, complex organizations on which our society increasingly depended, and who could devise ways to make the promise of democracy and opportunity come true for all Americans.

The founders of the American meritocracy — the most prominent of whom was James Bryant Conant, the president of Harvard — wanted to expand educational opportunity, but in a way that paid close attention to the rank-ordering of students and that carefully selected and nurtured a small group at the top. (Conant was the leading opponent of the G.I. Bill, because every veteran with a high school degree qualified.) Federal financing of high-end university research, introduced at the same time by the same people, would empower the very brightest to guard the strength of the nation.

The members of the new meritocratic elite were supposed to be selfless and public spirited, philosopher kings who would rise from obscurity, serve and then step aside and give someone else a turn. Conant called this type "the American radical," hater of social stratification, champion of public rather than private education, staunch opponent of inherited privilege.

"He springs from the American soil," Conant wrote in 1943, "firm in the belief that every man is as good as his neighbor, if not better, and is entitled to a real chance for a decent living."

The founders of the American meritocracy widely underestimated how important competitive, market behavior would become in their new system. In the 1940's, bidding over talent went on in the United States, but they were confined to the movie industry, professional sports and to some extent business (though much less so than now).

The university, in particular, was assumed to be morally purer than the larger world. As a 1935 report

from the Carnegie Foundation put it, "The democracy of merit on the campus, though far from perfect, is finer than that of the street."

But it turned out that various natural, if not elevated, human impulses — greed, self-aggrandizement, preoccupation with rank and prestige, the desire to obtain special advantage and to pass it on to one's children — could flourish just as easily within the bounds of a meritocracy as outside of them.

When the elite universities went from being bastions of scholarship that stood apart from the commercial world to being the channel to most good jobs, their atmosphere changed. When the new apparatus of testing and research grants made possible a star system that generated money, students and admiration from colleagues and the public, the energy of people in universities would be directed at getting those rewards, rather than to unpaid public service.

Because the American meritocracy was set up privately, without public debate, the public never really bought into the idea of being led by the new, highly educated elite. The country has become more populist than James Bryant Conant and his colleagues ever imagined, and this has meant that the new elite is less revered and less influential than it was meant to be.

As a result, its ambitions have become more private and careerist. There is no countervailing force to an overwhelming preoccupation with selection and ranking; what began as a means to a broader end has become an end in itself.

Hence the current American meritocracy: a system that is good at selecting and compensating superstars, that generates never-ending conflict over how rewards are distributed, but that has lost its public and moral dimension. The questions we ask about the meritocracy — mostly variants on "Who gets the goods?" — are far too narrow. Does the elite serve the public, as well as itself? Do most Americans get, through the education system or otherwise, the skills they need to lead a good, decent life? Meritocracy should be a system of governance, not a contest over spoils.

In America

BOB HERBERT

Dreams of The Rich & Famous

Let's start with the madness. We can get to the real world in a moment.

On Thursday Fred Wilpon, co-owner of the Mets, held a press conference to tell us about his dream — a brand new stadium for his beloved Mets that is modeled on Ebbets Field, the park that housed his beloved Dodgers.

Mr. Wilpon made no effort to hide his emotional connection to the project, saying, "This is a stadium you can put your arms around, with memories of Ebbets field."

The problem, of course, is that Mr. Wilpon wants the rest of us to pay for his dream, which will cost about a half-billion dollars. When rich men start dreaming, ordinary working people have to look out.

George Steinbrenner is dreaming, too. He wants a billion-dollar stadium on the West Side of Manhattan, and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani wants to give it to him. So let's see, a billion and a half dollars to start, add in some infrastructure improvements, some cost overruns — we're talking \$2 billion or more for two ball parks.

Are we crazy?

Mayor Giuliani says \$600 million could be raised from the commercial rent tax. Where does the rest come from? And after the city (and no doubt the state) mortgages its soul to pay for these parks, who will get the profits from the games that are played there?

Guess. This is an extraordinarily high level of madness.

Now to the real world. On Friday the Mayor unveiled a good-news budget fueled by Wall Street profits that don't even recognize the sky as a limit.

Reality for the rest of us.

But even with a supposed \$2 billion surplus, the Mayor proposes to cut funding for "among other things" libraries, parks and municipal cultural organizations.

Now listen closely. Just a day earlier the Mayor pledged that the city would give \$65 million to a private cultural institution, the Museum of Modern Art. If there is money for the Yanks, the Mets and MOMA, and an alleged \$2 billion surplus to boot, not to mention tax cuts, then why in the name of anything that's fair are we cutting city support for libraries, parks and the city's own Department of Cultural Affairs?

Is it possible we're looking at class distinctions?

Another aspect of the real world in New York City is the public school system, which is heavily populated by kids from poor and working-class families, most of them black or Hispanic.

When asked recently about the physical condition of the schools, Raymond Horton, the outgoing president of the Citizens Budget Commission and a frequent critic of Mr. Giuliani, said: "It is fair to say that the schools are tremendously overcrowded, that a high percentage of them are in bad repair, and many are dangerous. It is also fair to say that virtually none of them, or a very small percentage of them, are wired to be technologically smart."

A 16-year-old schoolgirl was killed three months ago when she was hit by the head of a brick that fell from the roof of a Brooklyn elementary school that was being repaired. And just last week an elementary school in Maspeth, Queens, had to be closed when part of its brick facade collapsed.

If the Mayor got half as excited over the schools as he does over the prospect of glittering new stadiums for multimillionaire team owners, the children of New York would be in much better shape.

Another glimpse of the real world came in a statewide poll of registered voters released last week by the Marxist Institute for Public Opinion. When asked to assess their own financial situation, a majority of the respondents said they continue to have difficulty making ends meet and find themselves working harder to pay their bills.

These are the same kind of people who will be asked to finance new baseball parks so Steinbrenner, Wilpon et al. can live in ever-increasing luxury.

Ordinary people have dreams, too. The Citizens Committee for Children recently listed some of the things, eminently affordable, that New York City parents would like for their children. They would like schools kept open longer. They would like classroom overcrowding eased. They would like increased job opportunities for teen-agers and an expansion of programs designed to reduce child abuse and neglect. Those kinds of things.

Modest, practical dreams. The kind of dreams that escape the attention of a Mayor blinded by the power and the splendor of the very rich.

Babes in Toys-'R'-Us-Land

By Susan Ellicott

LOS ANGELES
The Teletubbies just ended their second week on PBS, and already American cultural critics are in overdrive. We hear from so-called children's advocates that the flabby foursome of Tinky Winky, Dipsy, Laa Laa and Po threaten to turn our 1-to-3-year-olds into preternatural consumer zombies, the youngest television audience ever singled out by greedy merchandisers. Already, Teletubbies dolls are being hyped as the hottest toy for Christmas.

Well, let's talk Tinky. Our toddlers' fascination with the Tubbies unsettles us not because we're frightened, really, that merchandisers have a stranglehold on our smallest children, but because it exposes something scary about ourselves: the power that ad-

Susan Ellicott is a British writer and broadcaster based in California.

vertising has overgrown.

Little kids, like my 22-month-old son, are not and will never be consumers in the sense that we adults are. Dad might covet a BMW because a commercial has convinced him that the car fits his ideal image of himself.

Our misplaced angst over 'Teletubbies.'

But a very young child doesn't care about glamour or status. Neither is he a 7-year-old, who will whine for a plastic laser gun because a television advertisement has convinced him it's cool. A 1-year-old doesn't want something because he feels peer pressure or enjoys the frisson of unloading a month's worth of pocket money on something he can take home. A toddler likes a toy because he connects

with it.

The Teletubbies' creators have hit on a winning formula — cuddly characters with goo-goo voices and saggy diapers. Children identify with the Tubbies because they see themselves and are fascinated. It's the next best thing to that other favorite toddler activity, looking in a mirror.

My son has ignored a series of stuffed toys given to him by family and friends, including a special edition bear from Harrods, a rabbit made of chemical-free cotton and a Mexican hand-stitched iguana. But last month while visiting London, he stumbled on a purple Tinky Winky doll in the bedroom of a friend's child and it was love at first sight.

To my knowledge, he had never seen a commercial for the Teletubbies or any related products. He has since been given his own Tinky Winky (by British houseguests), and his ardor is undiminished. Binky, as my son prefers to call him, goes for walks around the block, shops with us at the farmers' market, eats cheese for dinner and, in a pinch, will even persuade my son to lie still to have his teeth brushed.

Isn't it time to lighten up? Admit to

a delicious bit of justice. The commercial success of the Tubbies constitutes payback time for all of us adults who have been ramming our children into coordinated Baby Gap outfits and hanging up visually stimulating mobiles since the day they were born. Designer-label clothes for children are all the rage, even in low-income neighborhoods.

Parents are sucked into seeing their children as extensions of their own consumer selves. Tommy Hilfiger runs glossy advertisements for baby clothes. A mall here in Los Angeles touts itself on a giant billboard off the Santa Monica Freeway with the slogan "Infant Gratification."

I've come to see the Teletubbies as a collective comeuppance to all modern parents who believe they can influence the tastes of their offspring. (Frankly, it's good training — he probably won't marry the woman of my choice, either.)

By all means trash the program for being repetitive and slow. But its appeal has nothing to do with merchandising. Don't pin the sins of the parent on the child.

THE ARTS

Folkways Captured the Voices of 'the People'

By JON PARELES

OF all the peculiar ideas in the history of the music business, Folkways Records may be the nuttiest. With shoestring budgets and a roster of little-known and unknown musicians, with unassuming packages and underwhelming marketing, Folkways set itself a boundless mission: it would record everything in the world that's worth hearing. Everything, that is, except the commercial pop that pays most recording companies' bills.

Folkways was created, owned and run by Moe Asch from 1948 until his death in 1986, when the Smithsonian Institution bought the label with a mandate to keep its catalogue in print and continue its work. Among its nearly 2,200 albums, Folkways has released Dock Boggs's banjo tunes, John Cage's "Indeterminacy," Langston Hughes reading his poetry, Hanunoo music from the Philippines, Woody Guthrie singing for children and freedom songs from Somalia, not to mention albums of insects buzzing and grand-prix races roaring. If it's not a complete sonic archive, Folkways can at least claim to be our audio attic.

On Friday, Folkways celebrates its 50th anniversary with a concert at Carnegie Hall; the Smithsonian Press has just published Peter Goldsmith's biography of Asch, "Making People's Music: Moe Asch and Folkways Records." The Carnegie Hall program includes dozens of musicians, among them the label's early stalwart, Pete Seeger, Lucinda Williams (who made her first two albums for Folkways), the songwriter Toshi Reagon, the bluegrass master Ralph Stanley and Mickey Hart of the Grateful Dead.

But musicians with name recognition were not Folkways' staple. Instead, Folkways was determined to record performers who were making music within their traditions, far

from any system of stardom. Nowadays, the term folk is applied to any songwriter who wields an acoustic guitar. But for Folkways, the definition was stricter. Folk music meant traditional music from various cultures; the designation could be stretched only a little bit, for songs that set new sentiments — often protest and topical songs — to old tunes. Not that Folkways ever limited its releases to folk music; it also put out jazz, audio drama, classical music from the Renaissance to the 20th century and anything else that struck Asch as interesting.

Asch's label was shaped by the ideas of the American left between the world wars, which hoped to find the voices of "the people," untarnished by the capitalist machinery of pop music. He sought out music and musicians that were, in a hotly contested word, authentic. While Folkways did record the urban, politicized, coffeehouse popularizers of rural songs, like Mr. Seeger, it also tracked down unknown singers and storytellers. It wasn't the first company to record grassroots musicians, but it revived that tradition, while other labels concentrated on reaching large mainstream audiences.

By releasing albums of children's songs from New York City playgrounds or ring shouts from Southern churches, Folkways declared that music was not a commodity owned and dispensed by professionals but a heritage open to everyone. (On the practical side, children at play weren't about to demand royalties.) Mr. Goldsmith's biography points out that at the same time that Folkways was assembling a catalogue of international field recordings, ethnomusicology was gaining recognition as an academic discipline. And Folkways had an anthropological perspective. It didn't tout its releases as mysterious or alluring exotica; it packaged albums with notes about the culture the music came from, connecting music to the daily lives of the people who made it.



Folkways founder Moe Asch in his office in 1957. He sought out music and musicians that were authentic within a cultural tradition.

Folkways sold its albums as educational materials; its steadiest customers were libraries. But Asch boasted that half of Folkways' sales were to individuals.

By example, Folkways insisted that the most important art came from ordinary people, not the elite. Of course, its ordinary people were extraordinary. As the Folkways catalogue grew, it came to seem as if every isolated backwoods and village and outpost from here to Mozambique held astonishing local talent. Perhaps they still do.

Recording traditional music, particularly music whose entire history has been of live performances, is more than an act of preservation. Recording intervenes in tradition; it puts a spotlight on a certain song and style, insisting that it's too important to disappear into the air. In "Making People's Music," Mr. Goldsmith writes, "Unlike a written document, a recording is an ethnographic moment — in addition to bearing information — stamps that performance with an esthetic value in and of itself." Recording can lead an aura of legitimacy to music that might be dismissed as old-fashioned on its home turf, aiding its survival and revival; Folkways albums helped create careers for musicians like Sonny Terry and Brownie McGhee. Recording also makes music portable and available for detailed study, so that the whim of a performer, a nuance that might pass undetected, can become a hallowed artifact to a

disciple far away from the source.

Particularly for Greenwich Village folkies of the 1950's and early 1960's, Folkways was a major factor in building a canon of American music: blues, old-time country, gospel, Appalachian ballads. That canon was largely rural, reflecting long-standing American ambivalences about corrupt cities versus the unspoiled countryside. At the same time, it provided a sense of history for young musicians.

The most celebrated effect may have been Bob Dylan's wholesale absorption of songs and style from Harry Smith's 1952 "Anthology of American Folk Music," which was reissued last year by Smithsonian Folkways. (Muddying the notion of immaculate authenticity, the anthology reissued songs from the 1920's that had originally been released commercially.) Yet Folkways' implicit acceptance of unpollished voices and casual recording also

helped train musicians and listeners in broader ways: to prize the raw and the earthy.

It was a conviction that would carry over to rock-and-roll. Though the folkies of the 1950's and early 1960's considered rock to be debased and commercial, rockers, as they grew more self-conscious, adopted a similar rhetoric, one that has now traveled into hip-hop. Generation after generation insists that its music is the sound of reality; not escapist pop, but a reflection of honest emotion, straight from the streets.

Another sensibility lurked within the Folkways catalogue: the John Cagean notion that every sound can be appreciated as music. In the 1960's, Folkways' microphones went to operating rooms and airports and offices, turning everyday noise into audio abstractions. This, too, was anthropology, as well as a celebration of the left's iconic workers. But it was also a harbinger of an era when

listeners have become thrill-seekers, getting a pleasurable jolt from the harshest noises. The rhythmic scrape and shatter and crunch of "Alligator Shear," on Folkways' "The Sound of the Junkyard," recorded in 1964, qualifies as the beginnings of industrial rock.

Folkways had some drawbacks. Asch's low budgets sometimes led to mediocre technical quality and slipshod packaging; apparently, his priority was that the recordings existed, not that they were optimized. Royalty payments were not guaranteed, either. Under the Smithsonian's stewardship, Folkways has better quality control, while it still undertakes lousy projects like its extensive, and revelatory, series of albums of music from Indonesia. But Folkways earned its legend because it was never a sensible business. It is a strange, visionary obsession: a folk-art monument as intangible as sound.



Pete Seeger will perform at the Folkways 50th anniversary concert.

Of Jews and 'St. John Passion'

By JAMES R. OESTREICH

PASSION season has come and gone, and far from being confined to the week before Easter, it was a long and active one in New York. It was defined here by three major performances of Bach's "St. John Passion," by Kurt Masur and the New York Philharmonic, Dennis Keane and Ascension Music, and Seiji Ozawa and the Boston Symphony, running from mid-February to mid-April.

Bach's "St. John Passion" slipped quietly into the middle, at St. Thomas Church on Fifth Avenue. But that work, once virtually on a par with the "St. Matthew," has become a harder sell in an era sensitive to ethnic characterizations: in this case, the work's harping on "the Jews" as the driving force behind the crucifixion of Jesus.

The most important and lasting item to have emerged from this Passion season, therefore, may turn out to be a little book of great complexity by Michael Marissen, "Lutheranism, Anti-Judaism and Bach's 'St. John Passion,'" from Oxford University Press. Although the controversy over perceived anti-Semitism in the "St. John," whether Bach's or St. John's, is not likely to be put to rest any sooner than the one over the manner of performance of Bach's choral works, Mr. Marissen, who teaches at Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania, at least goes far toward clarifying the terms of the discussion. His own conclusion is that Bach was not anti-Semitic, that indeed he mollified through his music the anti-Semitic, or anti-Judaic, tendencies of the text.

In a 36-page essay, Mr. Marissen presents a close and careful argument, as much historical and theological as musical, faced with qualifications and with footnotes that sometimes threaten to take over the page. The rest of the book consists largely of his literal translation of the libretto.

The text is concerned largely with

sorting out which words and attitudes in the Passion derive from St. John, which from Martin Luther or later biblical commentators, and which from Bach. What Mr. Marissen finds is that Bach provided his own theological gloss on the text, by tying ideas together musically. "The words and the notes together," he writes, "form a sort of polyphony."

When, for example, Jesus tends off

A scholar finds that a text considered anti-Jewish is softened by the music.

Pilate's question "Are you the King of the Jews?" with a question of his own, "Do you speak of that on your own initiative, or have others said it to you about me?" Bach gives some of Pilate's music to Jesus, who is thus seen to be turning the tables on Pilate: in effect, putting him on trial in a test of truth.

Bach's musical text, Mr. Marissen writes, can be "even more strikingly Johannine than John's actual verbal text." But it can also light out in another direction, and it does so, in Mr. Marissen's view, on the freighted issue of responsibility for Jesus' death.

"Bach's 'St. John Passion' proclaims next to no interest in the historical question 'who killed Jesus?,' whether it was Jews, Romans, or Jews and Romans together," Mr. Marissen writes. "It was concerned with theological questions about accountability for Jesus' death."

Again, Mr. Marissen finds the answers in the music. Whereas in John's Gospel, Jesus tells Pilate that whoever turned him over to the Romans has "the greater sin," Bach subscribed to the notion that all hu-

mans, as sinners, bear personal responsibility for Christ's death — especially Protestant Christians. A chorale stanza, "I, I and my sins . . . have caused you the sorrow that strikes you," Mr. Marissen argues, "with its remarkable dissonance on the first syllable of Sünden (sins), spells things out the most clearly and forcefully of all."

SUCH summary description cannot do justice to the subtleties of Mr. Marissen's argument. Still, some may find them too abstract, and they are, to be sure, tenuous at times. That "remarkable dissonance," after all, comes right out of the previous stanza, "Who has struck you so," where it occurs on the word "geschlagen" ("struck") with a different meaning. But Mr. Marissen offers supporting evidence of Bach's personal and theological probity. For one thing, Bach altered an aria text from the contemporary "Brocks-Passion," again changing the focus, relative to wording used by Handel, from Jews ("Achsaph's dens of murder") to Bach's fellow Christians ("your dens of torment").

Mr. Marissen makes it clear in any case that a passive listening to Bach's music, anything less than a full involvement with the text, will give only an inadequate notion of his meaning, let alone his genius. Music lovers have long been awed at the notion of Bach's dutifully charming out wildly varied and imaginative cantatas week after week. Who knew that at the same time he might have been engaging in subtle theological argument?

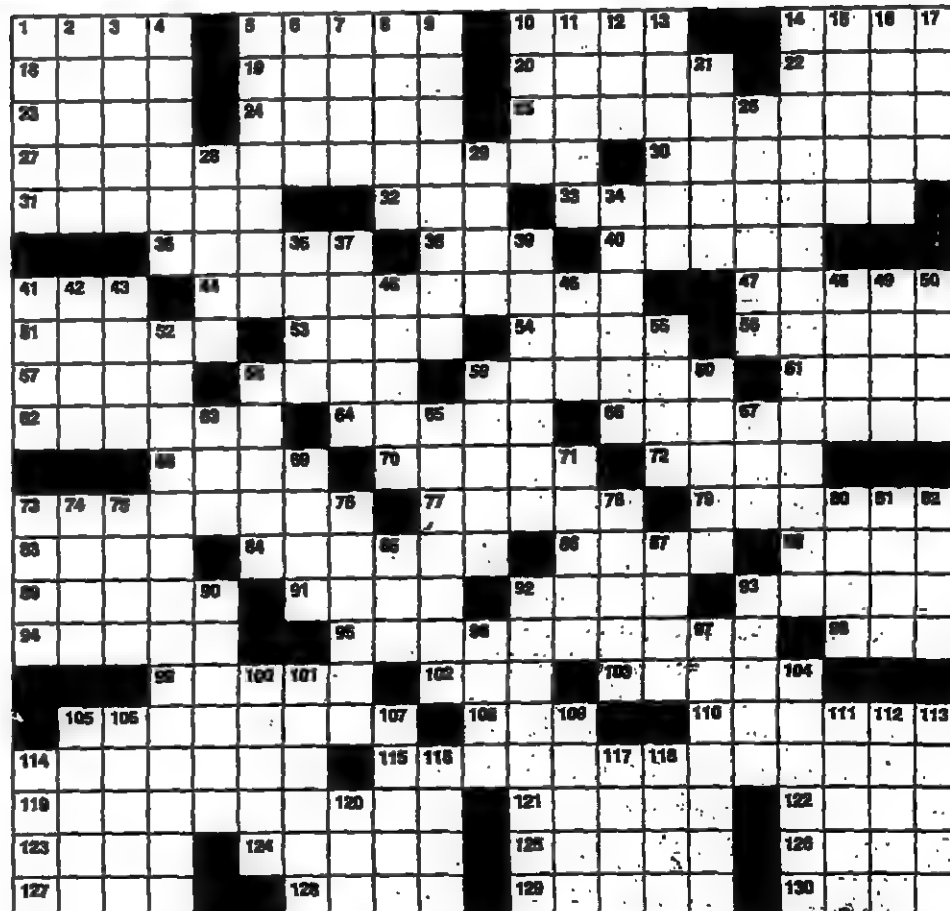
This book provides a model of how to deal with a piece of music grown controversial: not through avoidance, not through bowdlerization but by supplying the richest and most provocative context in which to understand and interpret the work. □

BASES LOADED

By FRAN AND LOU SABIN / Edited by WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

- 1 Men in the hood?
- 5 Head lock
- 10 "Damn Yankees" vamp
- 14 School subj.
- 18 "La Bohème," updated
- 19 Back-country
- 20 Dostoyevsky novel, with "The"
- 22 Digging, so to speak
- 23 Sgt. Snorkel's dog
- 24 Labor organizer's cry
- 25 Full shopping cart?
- 27 Coffee filter?
- 30 Small-time
- 31 "The Benefactor" novelist
- 32 Whirlpool whereabouts
- 33 Captain Kirk's log entry
- 35 Commemorative pillar
- 36 They, to Thailand
- 40 Mayflower Compact signer
- 41 Journalist's question
- 44 Drama in three acts?
- 47 Be reasonable
- 51 Wife's mate
- 53 Little or short
- 54 Is near bankruptcy
- 56 Poltergeist manifestation
- 57 Area east of the Bosphorus
- 58 Mountain goat's perch
- 59 Matriculate
- 61 "Superman II" villainess
- 62 Pat Nixon's real first name
- 64 Like party punch
- 66 Farm alarm
- 68 Kind of division
- 70 Not sharply defined, as a computer image
- 72 Drag queen's collection
- 73 Food fish
- 77 Like some undercover cops
- 79 Loafer, e.g.
- 83 Seat of Allen County, Kansas
- 84 Part on the English Channel
- 86 Like a Windsor tie
- 88 The Blue Devils
- 89 John known as "The Father of Television"
- 91 Body that includes SHAPE
- 92 Mystical saying
- 93 He caught Larsen's perfect game
- 94 Flumed headgear
- 95 Apply cosmetics to wild animals?
- 96 Stirrup site
- 99 Wharton's farmer
- 102 Browne
- 103 N.B.A. Rookie of the Year, 1993
- 105 Goofing, with "up"



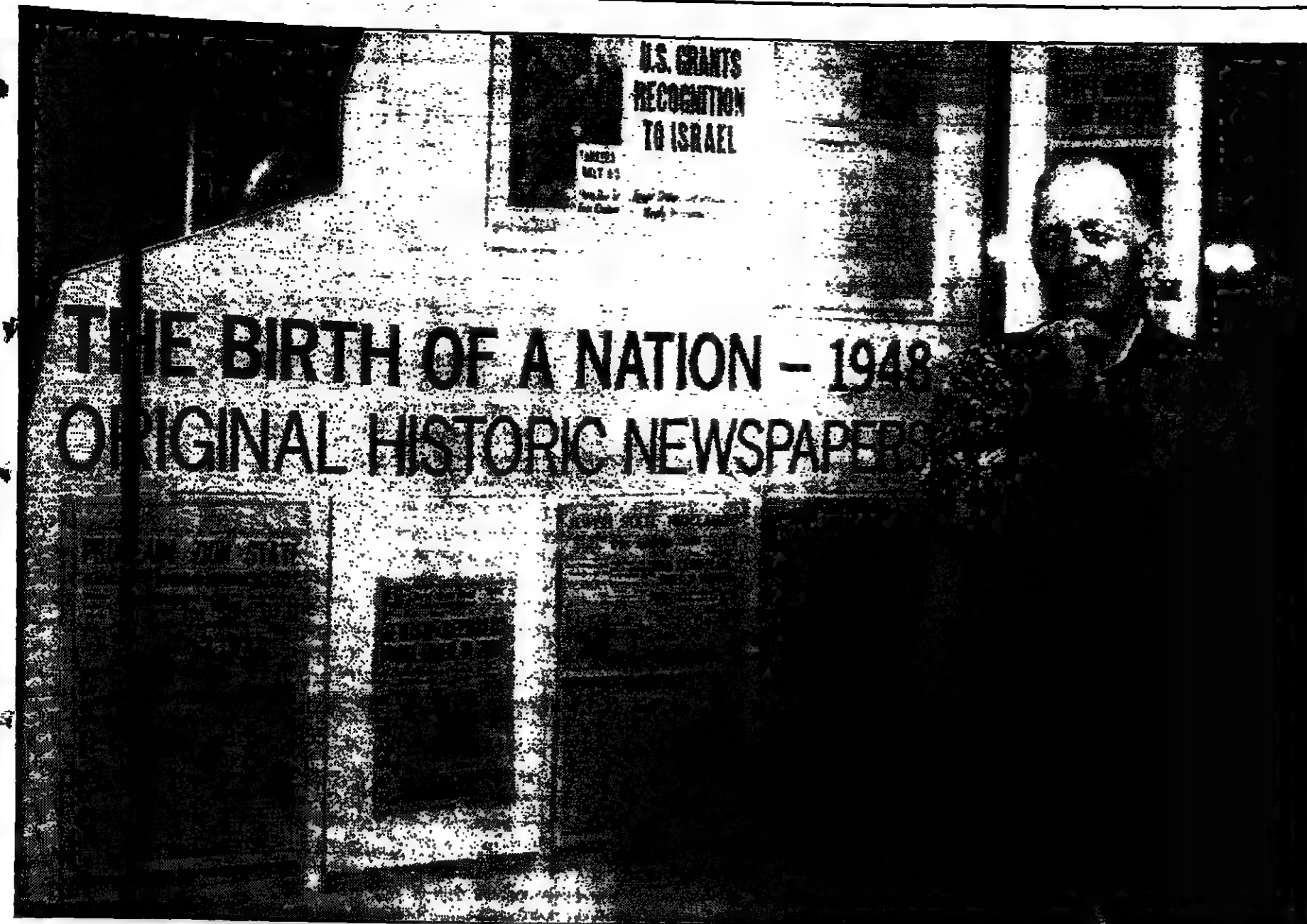
DOWN

- 2 The second plague, in Exodus
- 3 From an earlier era
- 4 Composer Bruckner
- 5 Strong porters
- 6 Weary walker
- 7 They're always made at home
- 8 The Phantom of the Opera
- 9 Renders replete
- 10 Less lively
- 11 Luce publication
- 12 Olfactory input
- 13 "Turandot" slave
- 14 Of an arterial trunk
- 15 Plastered at a picnic?

- 15 Mini bar
- 16 Cubic meter
- 17 Divided
- 21 Car in a Beach Boys tune
- 26 Like much of Chile
- 28 Spruce
- 30 Feeler
- 34 Jazz pianist Billy
- 36 Unbelievable one
- 37 Knock for a loop; Var.
- 38 Bad-mouth
- 41 Journalist's question
- 42 "Not another word!"
- 43 Tony's cousin
- 45 8 1/2" x 14"
- 46 Land alternative
- 48 Like some consequences
- 49 Pre-1991 after abbr.
- 50 Subjects of Mendelian experiments
- 52 Robinson and Thomas?
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- 59 Out of this world
- 60 Like some interpretations
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- 65 Ranch hand
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- 71 Clutch
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- 75 Others, to Ovid
- 76 Tars
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- 105 Only known
- 106 Bob's catch, e.g.
- 107 Understanding
- 108 Slowed the way, in
- 111 "So . . ."
- 112 Fishing net
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- 114 Fashionable
- 115 "So . . ."
- 116 Central points
- 117 Central points
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ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

CATRIC ROSE HAINPOST
ONEIDA TREE GARDENIA
KIEVICHITHE GARDENIA
ETS. HOD SCALE BLUT
NORTH DUSTED ALONE
SEIINGCHERRY ARVY
LARGA YELDS GHO MOD
OTT. DEE. GHO TOME
WASONG. GHO AVENUE
ROOST. PROSPOSES
TAIPER. PROSPOSES
MINKSTOLE. PROSPOSES
LEADER. PROSPOSES
ALEE. PROSPOSES
ADD. STIN. GHO. PROSPOSES
AUST. GHO. PROSPOSES
POSE. PROSPOSES
LE. PROSPOSES
SE. PROSPOSES
NOTEPADS. PROSPOSES



Newspaper collector Walter Katz with a few of his front pages announcing the birth of Israel. The papers are on exhibit at the Tel Aviv Sheraton Hotel. (Gil Hadani)

Jewish state: Read all about it!

From the proclamation of the State of Israel to the assassination of Kennedy, you'll find the original reports in Walter Katz's living room, Dan Izenberg discovers

Jewish Republic Proclaimed In Zion," reads the main headline of the May 14, 1948 *New York Post*. That same Friday, *The Sun* reported that the "New Palestine State Proclaimed by Jews Becomes First Independent Hebrew Nation in 2,000 Years."

These are two of eight newspapers announcing the birth of the State of Israel currently hanging in the main lobby of the Tel Aviv Sheraton Hotel in an exhibition honoring the country's 50th anniversary.

They are part of a large collection of front pages of newspapers, amassed by 69-year-old Walter Katz, whose headlines have heralded important - often historic - events. A man of many loves, including history, Katz has been collecting significant front pages for almost 60 years.

If those heady days of the founding of the state seem far away, a look at these well-preserved newspapers will bring it all back to life.

The *New York Journal American* announced in a somewhat inarticulate red banner headline above the paper's logo: "Proclaim, Zion State." The *New York Herald Tribune* displayed a photo of Chaim

Sharett (ne Chertok), son of the country's first foreign minister, Moshe Sharett, hanging an Israeli flag from the window of the Jewish Agency office in Manhattan. Several stories below, a group of celebrants dance the hora on the street.

Katz has collected these front pages - and some 400 more because, as he puts it, "Here are all these tremendous things happening and there's little I can do about them. I buy these newspapers so that at least I can be connected to what's going on. I realized that today's newspapers become history, tomorrow," Katz explains.

KATZ RELATES he was stimulated into beginning this unusual hobby by his mother. When he was 12 years old, she gave him the clipping of the text of the Armistice terms ending World War I as announced by President Woodrow Wilson and printed in the *New York American* on November 12, 1918.

"She told me she knew I was fascinated by history and thought I might like to have it," recalls Katz. "Boy, was she right. This was more than just reading something out of a history book. It was as though my

mother had reached back into time. It made history come alive."

Katz still has the yellowed, brittle pages tucked safely into a plastic cover - as he does all his clippings which include not only the front page, but all other items related to the headline story.

But it was a year later that Katz really got into the business of saving front pages.

On December 7, 1941 the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor. Katz was with his boy scout patrol visiting the Statue of Liberty at the moment the surprise attack began. On the subway on their way home to the Bronx, the boys learned of America's entry into the war. He saved the *New York Daily News* edition which reported in huge headlines: "Japs Bomb Hawaii."

"The papers wrote 'Hawaii' and not 'Pearl Harbor,' because at that time, almost nobody in the US knew where Pearl Harbor was," Katz explains.

As big as the headline letters were that day, they were smaller than the record 10-centimeter ones printed by the *New York World Telegram* in a special edition dated August 14, 1945 to announce "WAR ENDS."

During the war years, Katz made one of his proudest purchases. It was not even a headline. It was Joe Rosenthal's famous photo of the marine landing at Iwo Jima, which became one of the most - if not the most - evocative photo of the war. "The minute I saw that picture, boom, it hit me that this was something special and I wanted to save it."

"I even had to spend 5 cents instead of 2 cents because it was a Sunday paper," adds Katz. "Three cents was a lot of money in those days. Worse still, the *Sunday News* was a rotten paper. It was antisemitic and had a lousy editorial policy."

One offshoot of his hobby is that Katz has issues of *New York* newspapers that ceased to exist long ago, including *The Sunday News*, *The Sun*, *The Herald Tribune*, *The New York World Telegram* and *The Journal-American*. The little-known *PM Daily*, which lasted about seven years, was published without ads and was the most liberal newspaper in the city.

"When I was a kid growing up in New York City, there were nine newspapers," said Katz. "Only three of them have survived. You can't find those defunct newspapers any more except on microfilm and I doubt if you could buy an old copy of them."

Katz had only one newspaper account of Pearl Harbor. He managed to collect six accounts of D-Day and nine of V-J Day (the victory over Japan). But his record is 18 different accounts of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963.

"When Kennedy was shot, all of us in the US were devastated," he recalls, describing it as a nightmare comparable only to the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin 32 years later. "My reaction was to go out and buy newspapers from all over the country. It was my way of expressing my grief. On this occasion, it didn't



"The New York Journal American" of May 14, 1948: "Proclaim Zion State." (Gil Hadani)

have to do with history or politics," says Katz, who was living in Houston, Texas at the time.

Katz felt a special connection to Kennedy on whose behalf he had campaigned as a Young Democrat in 1960. On election day, he held up a Kennedy-Johnson sign at an intersection two blocks from the book depository where, three years later, Oswald fired his bullets. Between then and the time Kennedy was killed, Katz, who was living in Dallas at the time, met - in unrelated circumstances - clothing manufacturer Abraham Zapruder, the man who filmed the assassination, and Jack Ruby, the man who killed Oswald.

IN MAY, 1967, KATZ met his future wife, Shoshana. She had served as a volunteer in Israel in 1965-66 and told him she wanted to make her life here. Two years after their wedding, the couple moved to an absorption center in Ashdod, and from there to Rishon LeZion, where they raised their four children.

In Israel, Katz has saved copies of papers announcing the Yom Kippur War, the death of David Ben-Gurion, the signing of the Israel-Egyptian peace treaty, the agreements with the Palestinians and the peace treaty with Jordan. And of course, every newspaper's account of the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin.

Katz and his wife do not read Hebrew, but they began collecting Hebrew papers "for our Sabra children and their children. The Hebrew is for our descendants."

He says his own family is enthusiastic about his hobby. In 1975, Shoshana typed out a list of all the 296 items he had collected up until then, emitting it the "Walter Katz Historic Newspaper Collection." But it is 25-year-old Adam, their second oldest, who is the keenest. "He calls our home an archive,"

says Katz. "We have saved about 200 National Geographic magazines, each of which has at least one important story, records, cassettes and CDs - from Caruso to the latest Israeli pop stars - and over 400 video movies, including more than 120 classics."

Today, Katz is willing to part with some of his front pages for the right price. He hopes to raise enough money to send his younger children to college. Asked how much he expects the covers to fetch, he thinks it over for a moment and then replies cautiously: "They can't be bought in a shop. They are original and unique and they are for people who can afford them. The papers will go to the highest bidder."

The eight covers on display in the Sheraton were insured for \$5,000 each, if this is any indication of value. But even if Katz manages to sell off some of his collection, it doesn't mean he won't continue collecting more.

But his "filing cabinet," the battered, soiled suitcase which has traveled with him from New York to Houston to Dallas to Rishon and housed his collection for the past 40 years, has finally reached full capacity. Katz was forced to put the latest items, including his most recent cover - President Bill Clinton's re-election victory last November in an old attache case. (Katz has all the presidential election results since FDR won in 1944.) Even the attache case is now full to the brim.

But not to worry. After 28 years, Walter and Shoshana Katz have decided to install a wall-to-wall closet in their bedroom. "This part of the closet," says Walter, pointing to one end of the bare wall, "will have special flooring to bear the weight of the newspapers. Above it, we will leave lots of space for more."

Givat Haim: A house divided

Just south of Hadera, make a right off the old Haifa Road, and you're driving along the Berlin Wall.

To the left, Kibbutz Givat Haim; to the right, Kibbutz Givat Haim.

The two-lane byway separating Givat Haim (Meuhad) and Givat Haim (Thud) represents a schism that, in current political terms, may seem ridiculous, but in its day, it was life-and-death.

Funny thing is, nobody can quite agree about the reasons for *Hepilug* - The Split.

It happened back in '53. In 1998, some people are still too upset to talk about it. Others are embarrassed by the "silliness" of it all.

What they all agree on is that people nowadays cannot possibly understand the political atmosphere, ideologies and intrigues of their times, when the only right wing that mattered was the right wing of the Left.

Hanan Cohen has been here since the early '30s. He mocks today's Left-Right division: "Nowadays - you call this a political debate?"

Ironically, a few minutes later, Nimrod Ben-Shalom, 17, responded identically, but in reverse, as mention of the *Pilug*: "They called that a political debate? It was meaningless, not like now. Why couldn't they live together?"

In the rolling politics of the '50s, the influence of the kibbutzim - in all spheres of life - was dominant. But the kibbutz, still a unique and emerging concept, was not a monolithic force: debate raged ceaselessly on macro ideals that covered every ism of the time and every shade therein, and on hair-splitting micro ideologies, such as whether a mother may embrace a crying baby, and which should be sung first, the "Internationale" or "Hatikva."

(Yitzhak Ben-Aharon, a leading Givat Haim ideologue, was minister of transport from 1959 to 1962; as secretary-general of the Histadrut from 1969 to 1972, he was one of the most powerful men in the country. Now 91, he resides on the Meuhad side; he declined to be interviewed for this story.)

"When I heard this speech, I said to my husband, 'We are going to the other side.' I was terrified. But you know, Ben-Aharon recently admitted, in public, that he had made a mistake, believing that Stalin was the ideal."

About half the kibbutz, the Thudniks, marched across the road to establish a new life on their terms. But compared

to other kibbutz splits - which got downright violent, and in some cases caused divorces - this one was mostly civil.

"Everything was divided fairly. Some of the land on one side of the road was soft, some on the other side was hard, so we had the strange situation of part of our land being on the other side of their kibbutz, and vice versa," Cohen says. "Most people accepted that we'd have to cross each other's land to get to our own."

Lily Klein (Meuhad) chuckles. "You know, even the cows were carefully divided. They were categorized into groups based on their milk production, so both kibbutzim got equal numbers from each group."

For the children, it was traumatic. They grew up with the debates raging in their ears, but suddenly they were divided, like so many milk cows. Raised in children's quarters, they could not understand why the adults couldn't play nicely together.

"Your class was your whole life," says artist Yedid Rubin, 14 at the time of the *Pilug*. "And all of a sudden, half my friends left and went across the road."

Compared to other kibbutz splits - which got downright violent, and in some cases caused divorces - this one was mostly civil

The Labor movement's kibbutzim split down the middle into two separate groups: the kibbutz members, and in some cases, families, split with it.

Ah, but it would be simple if such a complicated background was all there was to the *Pilug*.

Yossi Kafri, of Thud, was 14 when his parents took him across the road. A warm, engaging man, he works closely with the elderly, and has tolled ceaselessly to heal the wounds - not always successfully. Having interviewed more than 25 elders on Givat Haim's history, his theory is that the *Pilug* was a social phenomenon that had to happen.

"Givat Haim was mostly made up of Russians, Latvians and Lithuanians on the one hand, and Central Europeans - with some Belgians and Iraqis - on the other. The former were cold, unbending, fierce ideologues; we were warm, reasonable, liberal, open, flexible. It should have been clear from the start that these two groups were headed for collision."

Several kibbutzniks, from both sides, dangle a conspiracy theory. "Ben-Gurion was afraid of our strength," says Efra Shalev of Meuhad. "He finagled the split to cut us down a notch. Ben-Gurion is to blame, he brought grief down upon us."

Hanan Cohen, who is on Meuhad, feels it was strictly ideology. "You know when the debate started? Before the kibbutz was even founded - when we were just a *kvaizit* (founding nucleus) waiting for the land."

In fact, the kibbutz split before, in 1929. We were then called Kibbutz Gimel; those that left formed Kibbutz Ma'abarot. Gimel was eventually renamed in memory of Haim Arlosoroff.

Or maybe it was cultural. "Our parents didn't want their children to be educated here [Meuhad's] way," says Kafri's sister Rahel, who was then 16.

In at least one bizarre case, it was a matter of pioneering romanticism. Geri Bar-Shalom was, he admits, a little nutty.

"I craved the hardship. When I saw big rats in my hut I said, 'Good! That makes things worse!'" Disillusioned that the desperate struggle was being won, he opted for a ramshackle life on the new kibbutz.

"I was fearful of the fanaticism," says a Holocaust survivor from Thud, declining to be named. "I heard Ben-Aharon make a speech, and it's not nice to say, but he sounded just like Hitler, the same tone."

His family eventually broke up too: at one time, he lived on Meuhad, his brother on Thud, and his sister, after getting married, went to live on - gasp! - a Marxist kibbutz of the Shomer Hazair movement. His father, one of the five original founders of Givat Haim, lived on one side and worked on the other.

The split is symptomatic of the unwillingness of Israelis to live among others of differing beliefs. So what, says Klein: it's not just us. "In 1964, I was in Sitka, Alaska, with my mother. And we were walking around town, and we came across a Russian church, then a Catholic church, then a Protestant church, a Calvinist church, a Baptist church, a Presbyterian church. And my mother said: 'If in this Sitka there could be such religious diversity, now I see how you can have both Mafal and Mapam.'"

Life was secondary to ideology. "We were young," says Shalev apologetically.

Shalev, 87, like most of the old-timers, has softened over the years. "But if not for those ideologies, and the passion, there would not have been a state."

It was too much for some. Many left; two members of Givat Haim committed suicide, in 1933 and 1942.

"They couldn't live by the exacting ideological demands," says Yossi Kafri. Bar-Shalom recalls being so angry at one of the suicides - "this solution was not a socialist one" - that he pointedly worked in the fields instead of attending the funeral.

Edith Eckstein, a 77-year-old English teacher, had already experienced enough conflict. Vienna-born, she had snuck gingerly through Europe escaping the Nazis. One day, she was walking along the beaches of Dunkirk when the battle began.

Having witnessed such an event, the clash at Givat Haim was child's play. Literally.

"We [at Thud] were building a hut for our new offices. Whenever we put up some blocks, people from Meuhad came and upset them, like children in a kindergarten."

There are still one or two people who would rather be run down than cross that street. But even among those who've softened, there are limits. Some from Meuhad will not break bread in the dining room of Thud.

Today, the only residual difference between the two Givat Haims is in the suffix of their names. One means "Unity"; the other, "United."



The New York Daily News of May 15, 1948, reporting the Egyptian invasion of the newly-declared state. (Gil Hadani)

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Monday,
April 27, 1998

BUSINESS & FINANCE

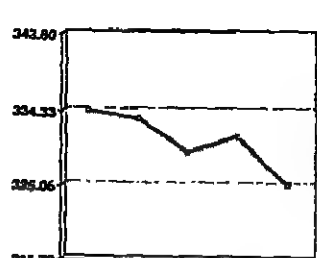
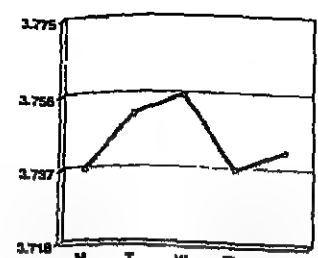
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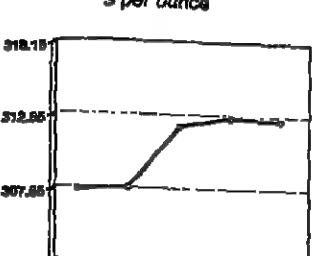
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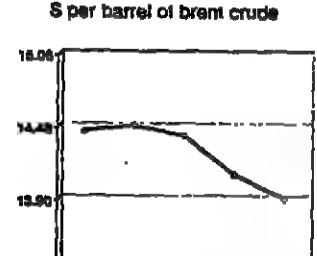
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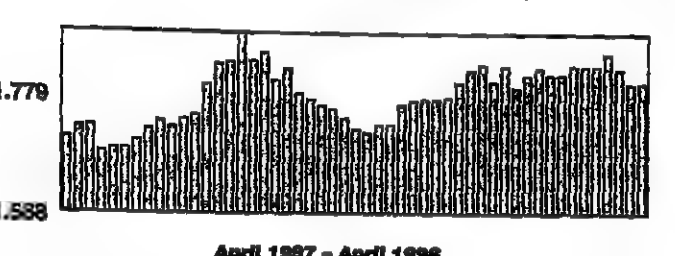
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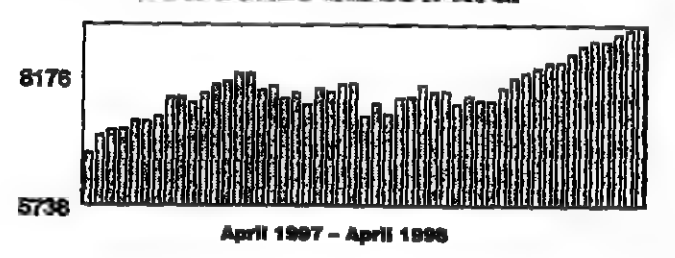
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DOW JONES INDUST. AVG.



First quarter tourist nights down 6%

The number of foreign tourists spending nights in hotels fell 6 percent to 1,740,900 during the first quarter, in comparison to the same period last year, the Central Bureau of Statistics announced yesterday.

At the same time, the overall number of tourists, including Israelis, reached 3,136,300, down from 3,339,100 between January and March 1997. *David Harris*

Kibbutz hotels tie in with Accor

The Kibbutz Hotels Chain, with 26 hotels around the country, has decided to align itself with the international Accor chain, represented in Israel by Ciel Tourism. The kibbutz hotels would have the right to identify with two of the Accor products, Mercure hotels, which are in the three and four star category, and Ibis hotels, which are in the three star category. Initially, the connection is to last for two years. *Haim Shapiro*

Republic Bank subsidiary opens office here

RNB Suisse, a subsidiary of Republic National Bank of New York, said yesterday it has opened a representative office in Tel Aviv. *Dan Gerstenfeld*

South African investor group to bail out Gibor Sabrina

By NINA GILBERT

The Tel Aviv District Court yesterday approved the sale of all assets of Gibor Sabrina Textile Enterprises Ltd. to a group of South African investors for \$13 million. The embattled textile firm was put into receivership in December with debts amounting to some NIS 100 million.

The new owners, led by businessman Zimny Zimman, will take control of all of the company's assets and brand name, which will be renamed Zee Zee Gibor. Judge Yishai Levi said the price offered by the group, established for the purchase, "was at the borderline of a suitable price."

The group will cover the operating costs of the company during the period it is under receivership. Zimman has committed to continue to run Gibor's businesses and to retain 700 workers.

The receiver, attorney Eli Zohar, said the standing operating costs are an estimated \$700,000.

Gibor Sabrina, a publicly traded company, will remain a stock exchange shell. A final decision on dismantling the company will be made in coordination with Kitan, which owns 50.3% of Gibor Sabrina, in order to sell the shell.

Zimman said the company may move some of its activities abroad.

"We have to first get our feet into the company and see where this takes us. We have ideas about what to do with it," he said.

The beginning will be difficult, but we will build on whatever is left of the company," he said. "Whatever our predecessors succeeded or failed in doing, we will build on the foundations."

The new company plans to build on its well-established local market activities and to also expand its exports.

According to Avi Barak, a manager at Gibor Sabrina, the funds will be used to pay off creditors, with the banks and those with the first right to receive compensation.

Owners of bonds will probably also be partially compensated, but the rest of those with funds owed will probably not be paid, he said.

The workers are to receive full compensation of some \$2m. Some 1,000 workers are employed by Gibor Sabrina, which has factories in Kfar Sava, Netanya and Yarka.

In the past year, the country's major textile firms have encountered severe difficulties, with dropping local demand, increased competition from exports and high labor costs.

At the end of 1997, Kitan fired some 450 workers in Nazareth and moved more of its weaving work to subcontractors in Jordan.



No pipe dream

President Suleyman Demirel (right), Geldar Aliiev (center), and Eduard Shevardnadze, of Turkey, Azerbaijan and Georgia respectively, met yesterday at the Turkish Black Sea city of Trabzon to discuss the multi-million-dollar Caspian oil pipeline project. A host of foreign governments and international conglomerates are eyeing the highly lucrative minerals of the Caspian region. The proposed pipeline would allow local producer countries to circumvent existing channels, all of which pass through Russian territory. *(AP)*

JNF to reveal holders of unclaimed properties

By DAVID HARRIS

The names of hundreds of people who disappeared during the Holocaust, leaving land here unclaimed, will be published by the Jewish National Fund in the coming weeks, the organization announced yesterday.

Prior to the creation of the state these Jews, principally from Eastern Europe, purchased some 350 dunams in what are today among Israel's most lucrative areas, mainly the Dan region and around Haifa. The combined value of the land is estimated to be worth at least tens of millions of dollars, if not considerably more.

The JNF has on its books a list of 1,836 files where it has managed the land since the 1940s, in the absence of the rightful owners. Now, under new management, the JNF is to publish the names - at first in local newspapers and maybe at a later stage abroad, according to Spokesman Moshe Peled.

JNF Chairman Shimon Gravit and chairman of the Friends of the JNF in Israel Yechiel Leket announced a special team will be established to deal with inquiries, which are expected from across the world.

IAI relishes return of Russian airliner's business

By STEVE RODAN

Transaero Airlines, the No. 2 carrier in the former Soviet Union, has returned to Israel Aircraft Industries for full maintenance of all its jets after a year-long stint with British Airways, executives said yesterday.

From mid-1996 to mid-1997, Transaero used British Airways for maintenance of the Russian airliner's small fleet of Boeing 737 and 757.

"They came back to us and said you give us the kind of service that British Airways just couldn't provide," David Arzi, director of IAI's

Bedek Aviation Group. "Now we are back in being Transaero's full service provider."

Arzi was speaking as IAI and Transaero celebrated their fifth anniversary of business together. The airlines has started as a private carrier with two jets that focused on flying Jews from the former Soviet Union to Israel.

Today, Transaero has developed with business and tourist travel to Israel and has grown to the second largest airline in the former Soviet Union. It serves 23 destinations in 12 time zones and has pioneered the

Russian Federation's first business class and frequent flier program.

Arzi said his division's contract with Transaero amounts to \$23 million a year. He added that Bedek provides services to the national airlines of Azerbaijan and will gain another airlines in the former Soviet Union within the next few months.

"Our concept is that the airlines focus completely on providing passenger and cargo services, and we will take care of all their maintenance, technical support, aircraft mainframes and inspections," Arzi said. "In the case of Transaero it has begun doing small inspections themselves and this has benefited them."

Arzi would not discuss the

Russian government's role in promoting business with Israeli companies. "Transaero is a private company, and this is a strictly business relationship," he said. "This has nothing to do with politics."

Transaero chairman A. Pleshaev said he expects a widening of cooperation with IAI as the company moves toward 12 weekly flights to and from Israel and purchases more planes.

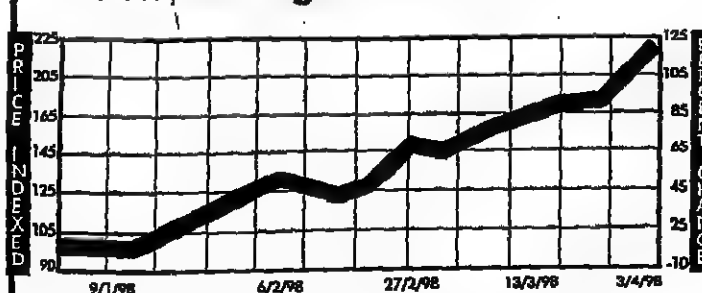
"We had some strange moments," he recalled. "But people learned to understand each other and overcome some serious financial obstacles."

Bedek Aviation Group serviced 148 aircraft for customers worldwide in 1997, setting total sales revenues at \$494m.

118.9%

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The Israel Electric Corporation and its employees wish the whole House of Israel a happy holiday



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5. The bidder must submit the information in an envelope marked "Bid No. 04/98/063/0".
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Israel to participate in China defense show

By STEVE RODAN

Israeli military producers will for the first time ever participate in a major Chinese electronic exhibition next month.

Elisra Electronic Systems Ltd., El-Op Electro-Optics Industries Ltd., Rafael (the Armament Development Authority), and Tadiran Com. Ltd. will exhibit their wares at the CIDEX show from May 12-15 in Beijing. The Israeli pavilion is being organized by the Defense Ministry's Sibat export agency.

Rafael will display its electronic warfare and intelligence systems; Elisra will exhibit airborne self-defense systems; El-Op will demonstrate its fire-control systems, rangefinders, and designators; Tadiran will bring its tactical communications systems. Elisra will also display its space communication and image-transfer sys-

tems.

The Israeli participation in the Chinese defense show comes as relations between both countries have expanded in the fields of aviation and space. A Chinese delegation of executives from satellite companies is currently here touring such defense companies as Israel Aircraft Industries and TAAS-Israel Industries.

From June 2-6, 16 Israeli companies will participate in Eurosatory, the defense and security exhibition for land forces. The defense show will be held in Le Bourget, France and will focus on improvement of land platforms, night-vision, command and control systems, and mine clearance.

Among the participating companies are IAI, TAAS, Elbit Systems Ltd., Solam, Automotive Industries Ltd., Azimut, and Nimda.

PRIME פריים
Mutual Fund for
Foreign Residents

Date: 23.4.98
Purchase Price: 118.95
Redemption Price: 118.31



TARGET טרגט
Mutual Fund for
Foreign Residents

Date: 23.4.98
Purchase Price: 134.98
Redemption Price: 133.97



Del Piero takes Juve to brink of title

TURIN (Reuters) - Alessandro Del Piero took Juventus to the brink of their second successive Serie A title yesterday scoring the only goal in their grueling and controversial 1-0 home win over title rivals Inter Milan.

Victory in an ill-tempered match puts the reigning champions four points ahead of Inter at the top of Serie A with just three matches remaining.

Del Piero, who had a second-half penalty saved by Gianluca Pagliuca, skillfully curled the ball into the far corner from a tight angle in the 21st minute, after his first shot had rebounded back off the legs of sweeper Salvatore Fiesi.

Despite being reduced to 10 men in 77th minute with the dismissal of Ze Elias for elbowing Didier Deschamps, Inter almost equalized in injury-time when two brilliant saves from Angelo Peruzzi denied first Ronaldo, then Chilean Ivan Zamorano.

Inter's black day was further darkened when coach Luigi Simoni and an assistant were sent off for protesting after the referee failed to penalize a body check on Ronaldo in the Juve area seconds before he awarded a penalty to Juve.

Serie A results yesterday: Bari 0, Vicenza 0; Brescia 1, Bologna 3; Empoli 5, Lecce 1; Juventus 1, Inter Milan 0; Lazio 1, Parma 2; AC Milan 0, Napoli 0; Piacenza 3, Atalanta Bergamo 0; Sampdoria 2, Fiorentina 0; Udinese 4, AS Roma 2.

Team	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Juventus	31	20	9	2	63	25	69
Inter Milan	31	20	8	3	57	24	65
Lazio	31	16	8	7	51	33	54
Parma	31	15	10	6	51	33	55
Udinese	31	16	7	8	55	38	55
Atalanta	31	14	10	7	57	39	52
Sampdoria	31	13	12	7	54	34	48
Bologna	31	13	7	11	49	50	44
AC Milan	31	11	11	9	49	48	44
Vicenza	31	11	10	10	34	35	43
Bari	31	9	8	14	31	55	35
Brescia	31	9	7	15	28	40	34
Empoli	31	9	4	18	44	59	33
Piacenza	31	6	14	11	23	34	32
Fiorentina	31	7	8	16	39	56	29
Atalanta	31	6	10	15	22	46	28
Lecce	31	5	7	19	29	68	22
Napoli	31	2	7	22	21	69	13

Moya beats Pioline in Monte Carlo

MONTE CARLO (Reuters) - Spain's Carlos Moya scored the most prestigious victory of his short career yesterday when he beat Frenchman Cedric Pioline in straight sets in the \$2.2 million Monte Carlo Open final.

Moya, 1997 Australian Open losing finalist, won the one-sided match 6-3, 6-0, 7-5 in just under two hours.

"It's the most important victory I ever had. It's a very important tournament for me and I'm very happy with the way I played," he said.

A semifinalist in his two previous tournaments, in Estoril and Barcelona, Moya, seeded 14th, had an impressive week here with wins over Austrian Thomas Muster, Russian Yevgeny Kafelnikov and former Wimbledon champion Richard Krajicek.

"I was expecting to do well this week since I was playing well and despite meeting Muster in the first round, Beating Thomas gave me a lot of confidence and it showed today," he said.

His final against Pioline was arguably his easiest contest, even if the Frenchman fought hard in the third set, in which there were no less than six consecutive service breaks.

But the Spaniard, winner of three previous tournaments, was far too consistent from the baseline.

Pioline, on the other hand, looked exhausted after his tense semifinal against another Spaniard, Alberto Berasategui, in which he saved two match points before fighting his way back from 6-4, 0-6, 1-5 down to win.

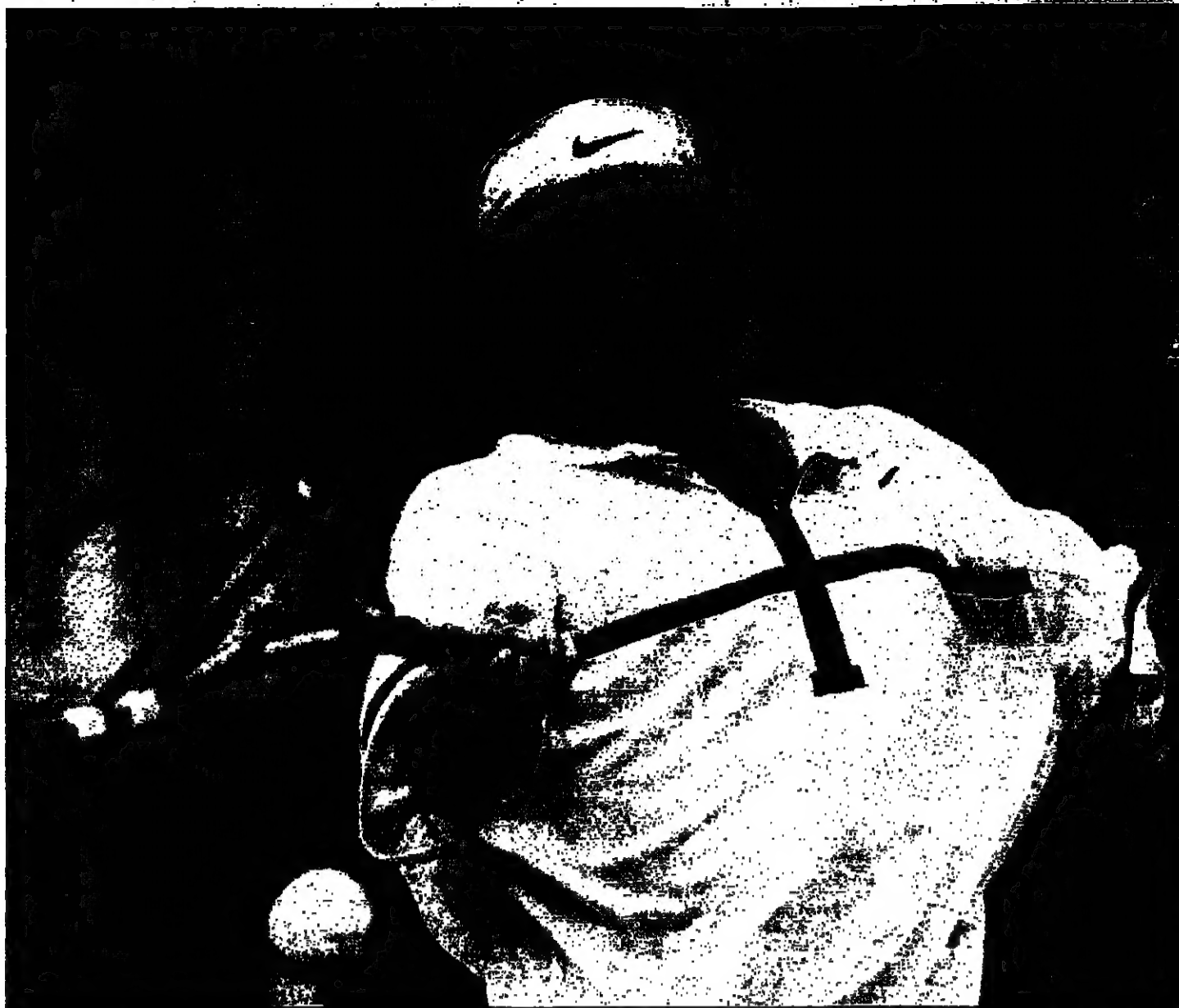
"I don't think it was that easy, the second set was easy since I won nine games in a row. But then he broke me three times," Moya said.

"Maybe he was tired from yesterday but I also won a tough match yesterday. That said, it's my physical fitness which made the difference," he said.

"This is the key to my progress this season, I've realized physical condition is what makes the difference."

His opponent was obviously not as fit.

"I hoped there could be another miracle today but I was too tired," said Pioline, the 10th seed, who received treatment to his right shoulder after losing the first set in 43 minutes.



SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST - Spain's Carlos Moya in action against Cedric Pioline of France in the final of the Monte Carlo Open yesterday. Moya won in straight sets 6-3, 6-0, 6-4. (AP)

The Frenchman may also have suffered again from his final jinx - he has now lost 12 of the 14 finals he has played, including Wimbledon last year and the US Open in 1993.

He also lost his first final here in 1993 against another Spaniard, Sergi Bruguera.

But Pioline was not too sad about the loss.

"To reach the final in my first tournament on clay this season is an achievement and it brings me nearer the top 10 which is what I wanted," said the Frenchman, currently 16th in the ATP rankings.

"My main goal in the next few weeks is simply to be seeded in the French Open," he added.

Moya has even more ambitious long term plans.

"Last year Marcelo Rios won

here and he eventually became world No. 1. I'm not saying this is going to happen to me, but I will try," he said.

In Orlando, Florida, top-seed Michael Chang beat Sweden's Mikael Tillstrom, and third-seed Jim Courier eliminated Romanian Andrei Pavel on Saturday to advance to the finals of the US Men's Clay Court Championship.

Chang, the defending champion and top seed, seized momentum early and never let Tillstrom into the match to cruise to a 6-3 6-4 victory and his second consecutive appearance in the finals of this tournament.

Courier, on the other hand, had a tougher day. He lost the first set 4-6, came back to take the second set 6-3 and broke Pavel in the fifth and seventh games of the third set to win it 6-2.

Relegation-threatened Hapoel Beit She'an are hoping for a last-minute reprieve from the police today after they were refused permission to host Betar Jerusalem in their upcoming home fixture this weekend.

IFA wants league overhaul

By ORI LEWIS

The Israel Football Association has proposed a new setup for the top leagues to start in the 1999-2000 season.

In the blueprint released yesterday, the IFA has put forward a plan for three full professional leagues comprising 40 clubs in all.

The two top leagues (a "Premier League" and a "National League") would comprise 12 clubs in each, while the Second Division would have 16 clubs. In the two top leagues the teams would clash three times during the season.

According to IFA Chairman Gavriel Levy, the smaller leagues would make for fiercer competition and a higher standard of play. Added fixtures, should also increase attendances, thus boosting income from ticket sales.

According to Levy, the increased fixtures list should also boost revenue for the Sportoto.

"We currently provide 38 rounds of action (for the Sportoto), from the season after next we could increase that to 45 rounds," Levy said yesterday.

Levy said he was hopeful the IFA proposals would be accepted soon.

In other news, the national junior (under-16) team last night drew 1-1 with Russia in their first match in the European Championship finals in Scotland.

The Israelis were heading for victory after Yaniv Katan scored in the 46th minute, but the Russians managed an equalizer in injury time (Junior matches are played over 80 minutes).

Israel's next match in the championships is against Ukraine tomorrow.

Relegation-threatened Hapoel Beit She'an are hoping for a last-minute reprieve from the police today after they were refused permission to host Betar Jerusalem in their upcoming home fixture this weekend.

Beit She'an's small ground, which only holds 6,000, has been deemed unsafe by the police, who expect a big presence, particularly by visiting supporters.

ECB chief expresses concern about conduct

LONDON (Reuters) - England cricket chief Lord MacLaurin has expressed concern about standards of conduct on and off the field and called on the next national captain to lead by example.

The England selectors meet this week to decide on a successor to Michael Atherton who resigned as captain after losing the recent series against West Indies.

In an article published in *The Sunday Telegraph*, MacLaurin, head of the England and Wales Cricket Board, said the England captain was the game's leading ambassador.

"Like many spectators, players, viewers and listeners, I am con-

cerned about the standards of conduct both on and off the field," he said.

"I have no doubt that we must take a very firm grip on how the game is presented throughout the world. For example, incessant and orchestrated appealing, even when the players know full well that the batsman is not out smacks of cheating and is intimidating to the umpires."

"Also, the general behavior of cricketers and their appearance has to be addressed. No longer should we see international cricketers appearing on television, unshaven, chewing gum and looking slovenly."

Beckenbauer hails Blatter as 'best man'

ZURICH (Reuters) - Bayern Munich president Franz Beckenbauer called Sepp Blatter "the best man we have in football" but stopped short of officially endorsing him in the race against Lennart Johansson for the FIFA presidency.

The former Germany captain told Switzerland's *SonntagsBlick* Sunday weekly that a year ago he had backed UEFA president Johansson's bid to succeed Joao Havelange because he was the only candidate at the time.

"Now the situation has changed. I will certainly not spread election propaganda for Johansson. Blatter is the best man we have in football," Beckenbauer was quoted as saying.

Pressed on whether he was now backing the Swiss candidate, Beckenbauer said: "I will be neutral because I cannot oppose Johansson after voting a year ago (to support him)."

"I only hope that FIFA and UEFA can still work together reasonably no matter how the election turns out."

"Anything else would be a disaster for football," he said.

Blatter, FIFA's general secretary, threw his hat into the ring this year, sparking a lively battle with Johansson.

The vote on the presidency will be taken by FIFA's members at their Congress on June 8.

Sydney leads AFL ladder

MELBOURNE (AP) - Sydney forward Tony Lockett kicked four goals as the Swans beat Western Bulldogs to become the only team with a perfect record after five rounds of the Australian Football League competition yesterday.

The Swans won 14.15 (99) to 12.11 (83) against the only other team unbeaten after four rounds.

Bulldogs veteran tagger Tony Liberatore's career appeared in doubt when the 33-year-old was forced off with a serious knee injury.

St Kilda and Melbourne joined the Bulldogs with 4-1 records with victories yesterday. The Saints scored a 13.10 (88) to 9.12 (66) win over Carlton while the Demons outlasted Port Adelaide 14.18 (102) to 6.17 (53).

Collingwood won its third match in the traditional Anzac Day clash at the MCG on Saturday.

More than 81,000 fans watched Magpies forward Saverio Rocca kick six second-half goals in Collingwood's 15.18 (108) to 12.16 (88) victory over Essendon.

The Bombers led at half time but Collingwood put on five goals to none in the third quarter to turn the game around.

Fremantle scored an upset 16.8 (104) to 12.15 (87) win over North Melbourne on Friday while Richmond beat West Coast 12.14 (86) to 10.11 (71).

Brisbane remained the only team yet to post a win as it failed to handle Hawthorn's veteran forward Jason Dunstall at Waverley. Dunstall kicked six goals in the 18.16 (124) to 12.11 (83) victory-Hawthorn's first of the season.

Defending champion Adelaide won its second match, posting a 12.15 (87) to 8.13 (61) home victory over Geelong.

Doherty moves closer to second world snooker title; White also looks hot

SHEFFIELD (Reuters) - Ken Doherty, bidding to retain the title he won 12 months ago, gained a world snooker championship quarter-final place with a second round success against England's Stephen Lee on Saturday.

But the Irishman, who included a 137 break in his 13-8 win, acknowledged he faced a real fight to keep his title.

"The tournament is wide open because there are a lot of good players," he said. "The trophy is up for grabs."

Welshman Mark Williams could well be one of those challengers after completing an impressive 13-6 win over six-times world champion Steve Davis to join Doherty in the last eight.

"I played a lot better than I did in the first round," said Williams, who faces either Peter Ebdon or Fergal O'Brien in the quarter-finals.

Davis believes the 23-year-old has a good

chance of picking up the £220,000 winner's check.

"He could win this tournament standing on his head," said Davis. "Mark is an amazing player who plays sometimes like he's down the pub, potting balls for fun."

"He deserved to beat me 13-6 and he'll take some stopping."

In-form Londoner Jimmy White, who knocked out favorite Scotland's Stephen Hendry in the first round, ended the first session of his match against Darren Morgan with a four-frame lead.

White took the first three frames with breaks of 83, 87 and 78. Then after seeing Morgan open his account in the fourth frame, White went on to compile the highest break of the tournament so far in frame seven, a brilliant 143.

It put White in pole position for a £19,000 check for the highest break of the championship.

White led 6-2, overnight with the match resuming last night.

Former winner John Parrott also booked a quarter-final clash with fellow Scotsman John Higgins after defeating Malta's Tony Drago.

Leading 11-5 after the second session, Parrott, the 1991 winner, took just over an hour to complete a 13-7 victory in a match littered with errors.

World No. 3 Higgins will be appearing in the quarter-finals for the third year running.

Englishman Ebdon compiled two century breaks on his way to a 5-3 lead over Fergal O'Brien of Ireland.

O'Brien, who eliminated world No. 12 James Wattana of Thailand in the first round, was level at 2-2 but Ebdon won three of the last four frames to edge ahead. The match also resumed last night.



AUSPICIOUS FINISH - Ireland's Catherina McKiernan speeds towards the finish line of the London Marathon yesterday. (AP)

Anton, McKiernan win London Marathon

LONDON (AP) - World champion Abel Anton overtook Moroccan upstart Abdelkader El Mouaziz close to Buckingham Palace and the finish straight to win the London Marathon at his first attempt yesterday.

The Spaniard had to make up a 100-meter deficit in the final

1.6km of the race but swept last the firing Moroccan to win in two hours, seven minutes, 57 seconds, two seconds outside the race record set last year by Antonio Pinto of Portugal.

El Mouaziz held on for second place, 10 seconds slower, and Pinto placed third in 2:08.13.

Catherina McKiernan made

up a deficit of one minute, 40 seconds soon after halfway to romp to victory in the women's race.

The Irish runner, who runs 170km a week in training, swept past Romania's Lidia Simon and leader Adriana Fernandez of Mexico with 8km to go and raced clear of a high-quality field to win in 2:26:26 in cool,

sunny, breezy conditions around central London.

Liz McColgan, the 1996 titlist and runner up last year got past Simon and Fernandez and placed second, 28 seconds behind, and Kenya's Joyce Chepchumba, the defending titlist, was third in 2:27:22, 56 seconds slower than the winner.

Triathlon's big day tarnished by mix-ups

SYDNEY (Reuters) - The newest sport to be admitted to the Olympic program had an auspicious dress rehearsal yesterday when a round of the Triathlon World Cup was staged on the proposed Sydney 2000 course.

With the multi-disciplined sport confirmed as the first medal event for the Games, International Triathlon Union (ITU) officials were hoping to use yesterday's race to showcase their sport to the Australian public and visiting Olympic dignitaries.

But what they got instead, was a series of embarrassing mix-ups.

Two competitors, including Australia's reigning world champion Emma Carney, withdrew from the women's race because they said the water was too cold.

New Zealand's Jamie Hunt was taken to hospital after a pileup during the cycling leg of the men's race. He suffered cuts and bruises to his face and chest after he crashed into a barrier.

And in a repeat of one of the major glitches that beset the Atlanta Olympics, the official results service proved hopelessly inadequate. The results were not released until more than four hours after the event had finished and when they finally did arrive were full of glaring errors.

Some competitors who took around 40 minutes for the run leg were credited with times of more than 11 hours while others were listed as having completed the race when they had pulled out.

ITU managing director Michael Gilmore dismissed the glitches as "teething problems" and insisted the sport would be trouble-free at the Olympics.

"This is a fantastic course and the triathlon is going to be a truly fantastic race," he said.

The event, which combines swimming, cycling and running, will start and finish at the Sydney Opera House against the spectacular backdrop of the Sydney Harbor Bridge.

Spectators will be able to watch the race for free and there is an expectation that the winner will be a local because of Australia's current domination of the sport.

In spite of the glitches, yesterday's race did deliver some of what it promised. Australia's Jackie Gallagher won the women's event while Greg Welch led an Australian clean sweep for the men.

IOC president Juan Antonio Samaranch was on hand to present the medals and McDonald said: "I was overjoyed that president Samaranch was here today."

"Triathlon is in many ways a child of the IOC and we wouldn't be here without him."

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